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ABSTRACT

During the 1969-70 school year, a follow-up program was conducted for participants of the summer 1969 institute on Teaching Alaskan Native Youth. On-site seminars and individual conferences were conducted with 20 teachers and aides (serving in 16 rural Alaskan communities in which the predominant first language is Yupik, Inupik, or Athabascan) to allow them to share with each other their experiences in using new methods and materials in their classrooms. Participants completed and revised the supplementary materials devised during the summer. Several collected and compiled local legends and folklore for classroom utilization. Several programs were established for either teaching English as a Second Language and/or for teaching the local Native dialect. The three-member staff considered the program successful. The staff received an invaluable education about bush teaching and an insight into life in rural Alaskan villages. (Travel reports are included for the nine staff trips into the Alaskan bush to visit participants.) Also included is a product of the summer, "Yupik Eskimo Communities: Bethel, Chignik, Emmonak, Mountain Village, St. Marys, Togiak, Tuluksak," a collection of primary source accounts written by participants during their study of Alaskan cultural anthropology (of Togiak, Bethel, Lower Yukon, Kuskokwim, and Kotzebue area). (JS)

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Teaching Alaskan Native Youth

September 1969 to June 1970

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I. Introduction

During the 1969-70 school year, a follow-up program was conducted for participants of the summer 1969 EPDA Institute on Teaching Alaskan Native Youth. On-site seminars and individual conferences were conducted with the teacher-participants to allow them to share with each other their experiences in using new methods and materials in their rural Alaskan classrooms. The teacher-participants also completed and revised the supplementary materials devised during the 1969 summer institute. Several participants collected and compiled local legends and folklore for classroom utilization. Several programs for either teaching English as a Second Language and/or for the teaching of the local Native dialect were established.

II. Operation of the Program

1. Planning: The original proposal stated that bi-monthly seminars would be conducted at Dillingham, Bethel and Unalakleet. Because of the geographical distribution of the participants, the prohibitive travel cost for the participants, the problems of scheduling transportation (some bush airlines do not fly on weekends because of the predominate religious faith of that locality), and severe weather conditions (freezing in fall, break-up in spring and storm conditions during the winter), this plan was found to be non feasible.

Dillingham was kept as a seminar site for several seminars for teacher-participants from Naknek, Togiak, Manokotak, Twin Hills, and Dillingham. The other participants were to be visited at least once, if at all possible, in their villages by a staff member whose area of expertise best met the individuals' need. The staff members also planned to conduct regular correspondence with participants as needed.

Three participants were not visited on-site because of the remoteness of their villages. Two of these had conferences with the director when they

were in Anchorage. One was not visited at all because a trip to the village would have involved at least a two week absence (if all went well) from campus for the staff member. This participant's work was conducted entirely by correspondence through necessity.

The original proposal stated that the associate director would make the greatest number of trips with the remaining trips equally divided between the other two staff members. This plan was also found to be non-workable when the seminar-site plan was revamped.

Each participant was requested to submit a prospectus of the project he planned to conduct during the 1969-70 school year to the director. These were read and assigned to the staff member whose area of expertise most nearly met the participants' need. Since the majority of trips fell in the area of teaching English as a Second Language and/or the teaching of the local Native dialect, Mrs. Engel made most of the trips. Dr. Bunger made three trips, and Dr. Frost two. Personal responsibilities prevented Mrs. Davis from traveling.

2. Participants: The summer participants were informed of the winter 69-70 follow-up program during the institute. At the beginning of the fall academic semester, each summer participant was sent a letter explaining the winter program and a registration card. Because of the vagaries of rural mail deliveries, registration took longer than expected. Twenty-three teachers enrolled. Three of these withdrew from the program during the year because they resigned from their positions. Sixteen villages were represented: Naknek, Dillingham, Ruby, Nome, Kotzebue, Togiak, Chevak, Kwigillingok, Port Lions, Fort Yukon, Angoon, Twin Hills, Manokotak, and St. George Island. Because of the geographic spread and distance between villages, it was impossible to ever have all the participants together at one time in one location.

3. Staff: Three members of the summer institute staff continued working throughout the winter follow-up program. Marianna Bunger, Associate Director

of the Summer Institute, became director because O. W. Frost went to Japan for the fall semester to teach at Nagoya Gakuin University. Mrs. Margritt Engel and Mrs. Nancy Yaw Davis continued as staff members. Prior to the ending of first semester, Mrs. Davis submitted her resignation because of pressure from other commitments. Permission was received to have O. W. Frost fill this vacancy since he had returned from Japan. Mrs. Jeanie Frodsham served as secretary for the program.

4. Orientation Program: Most of the orientation to the winter follow-up program was conducted during the summer program. Time was given, during the summer, to present and discuss the follow-up program with the participants. As a result of these presentations to and discussions with the participants, the staff began to realize the winter plans would have to be revamped and become more flexible than stated in our proposal.

Early in the fall semester, letters were sent to all summer participants inviting them to participate in the winter follow-up. Those who registered were sent a letter requesting that they submit a proposal for a project to the director by a certain cut-off date. These were read by the staff and suggestions and comments were sent to each participant. By the middle of the semester, the tentative travel schedule was planned. Participants were notified of this. But, travel scheduling remained completely flexible throughout the year because of necessity -- many variables could affect trips.

5. Program Operation: The staff of the winter follow-up program feels that the objectives for this program were met. New teaching procedures were used. New materials were developed, tested, and used. The participants seemed to have developed a new sensitivity for their students.

Since the winter program took the staff to rural Alaskan villages, a picture of the work accomplished with all of its joys, frustrations and learn-

ing experiences can best be gleaned from the travel reports submitted to the director.

The length of the program was sufficient. However, the staff found that to be most effective those that traveled needed to be released full-time from other duties which none of the staff was. Plane schedules and the schedules of the participants and staff often did not jibe. Weather conditions frequently caused trips to last longer or shorter than expected.

These problems are revealed in the trip reports which follow:

EPDA 1969/70 Follow-Up Program Travel Reports Margritt A. Engel

Nov. 19-24, 1969 Dillingham-Togiak-Manokotak

Dec. 6-8, 1969 Naknek

Jan. 23-24, 1970 Naknek-Dillingham

Feb. 21-Mar. 3, 1970 Bethel-Kwigillingok-Chevak

March 27-28, 1970 Homer (Anchor Point)

March 30-April 4, 1970 Dillingham-Togiak-Twin Hills-Manokotak-Naknek

Apr. 23-26, 1970 Nome-Kotzebue

May 1-3, 1970 Naknek-Dillingham

May 21-23, 1970 Port Lions

EPDA 1969/70 Follow-Up Program Trip 1 Margritt A. Engel

First time out into the Alaskan bush! Very exciting! Sunshine! Alaska Range along which we fly most beautiful.

Left Anchorage (with short delay) for King Salmon and Dillingham in the morning of Wednesday, Nov. 19. During stop-over in King Salmon, conferred by phone with Kathryn Ostrosky, learned that all three participants from Naknek will not be able to come to a colloquium in Dillingham on Friday afternoon or Saturday morning. We obviously have much to learn about scheduling of get-togethers. Flight days are short at this time of year, and Wien Consolidated Airlines' schedule requires that Naknek particpants charter to fly to Dillingham. It is decided that I shall fly to Naknek for a colloquium on the weekend of December 6.

Arrive in Dillingham in time to visit the school and sit in on one of Arlen Ruby's classes as well as an after-school teachers' meeting with the psychiatrist who is in town to test students who are not performing well. (The school is trying to set up special education classes to help these students.)

Over dinner, I talk to Arlen about the project he is planning for this year. He has written a paper on "Unipac," a method of individualized instruction, during the summer, and he is now incorporating this system in his teaching. He explains once again how it works and how satisfied he is with the results so far. He will submit some of the unipacs he has begun to develop as well as an evaluation of their effectiveness in his classes.

A special treat for me this evening is a steam bath at Kanakanak, where friends of the Ruby's live at the public health hospital. During the summer's anthropology lectures, the significance of the steam bath in Alaskan villages has been emphasized, and I was pleased to have the opportunity to find out what it's all about. A great invention!

On Thursday, Nov. 20, I flew to Togiak. Western Alaska Airlines' Grumman Widgin took me across the mountains at an altitude so low that I had the feeling that I could just reach out and touch the tops. This must be very beautiful country in the summertime when the many rivers and lakes are open and the countryside is green. To my surprise, there was still open water in Togiak Bay although ice had drifted in with the tide. We landed in Togiak in bright sunshine. The airstrip is, indeed, the "main drag" of the village; houses border it on both sides. As we touched down, snowgos were started up and as we taxied to the post office, a large number of them gathered. Rosalie Tyler and Helen Stewart were there to meet me, and we took off for the teacherage beside the school. Since the school is no longer big enough to accommodate all the students, school is taught in two shifts, and both Rosalie and Helen were on the afternoon shift. So, there was time for a snowgo ride to the end of the village, and for a walk to the slough on which several of the villagers were jigging (fishing through the ice).

After lunch, I accompanied Helen and Rosalie to school. I visited briefly with Helen's first graders. I told them where I was from and what the village in which I grew up in Germany had been like. The teacher aide translated my remarks since these children do still speak Yupik at home, and so their English was quite limited. One little boy, however, showed me how much he had already learned by observing that I looked "like a boy." When I was too dense to understand why, he returned with a little girl who explained that it was my hair which made me look like a boy. Apparently, I was the first female with short hair that this little boy had ever seen.

In Rosalie's class, which combines 3rd, 4th, and 5th graders, I held a geography and a language lesson. These pupils had, several weeks ago, started geography by learning about Japan. A visiting public health doctor of Japanese ancestry had told the class about Japan; they had seen a film, and they had

also learned some Japanese words. They were very enthusiastic about learning some German words. They were not content to hear and speak them only, but they wanted to see them written. They then brought out their notebooks and offered some of the Japanese words they still remembered. Finally, after we had gone over the German numbers, they tried to teach me the numbers in Yupik. (Since I had at least heard these during the summer, I didn't do too badly.) I very much regretted not having thought to bring the slides I'd taken during a trip back to Germany in 1967. Students and teachers agreed that I must come back to show them those.

I did not stay for the full afternoon session since Joe McAlister arrived from Twin Hills. He had made the trip on snow-go and regretted that I would not have time to come to Twin Hills by the same means. He also did not anticipate having much time because he had to return while there was still daylight. So, we had a short conference of 45 minutes in which he showed me the beginnings of his compilation of Yupik words and phrases which his Twin Hills informants had so far provided. He emphasized again (he had previously done so in a letter to me) what a difference his Yupik knowledge had made. Although he found that Twin Hills Yupik was somewhat different from the Kwigillingok and Emmonak dialects to which he had been exposed at AMU, also that the younger people and children spoke a more simplified version of it, he stressed that pupils and villagers alike greatly appreciated his concern for their language and were most helpful in teaching him. We agreed that it would be a very meaningful undertaking to compile a glossary of terms useful to the teacher in the classroom as well as of the most common terms of village life.

That evening I had a similar conference with Rosalie and Helen who were both teaching English to adults in the evenings. I suggested that in addition to naming things, they work up basic conversations about situations in every-day village life (e.g. at the post office, going to the store, going fishing, etc.);

these dialogs were to incorporate vocabulary and structure lessons that could then be drilled. I also showed Rosalie two books I had brought along: Finocchiaro's Teaching Foreign Languages to Children (which I assumed would be helpful in working with the children) and Huebener's Audio-Lingual Techniques in Teaching Foreign Languages. I hoped that both books might give Rosalie some ideas. (She found Finocchiaro most helpful so that I later ordered a copy for her. Huebener seems to have provided some help in setting up pattern drills.) I also talked to Helen about her project by relaying a message from Marianna Bunger. Since I know nothing about writing readers for primary grades, I could merely inquire about how her work was progressing. She mentioned that the older people were difficult to approach, i.e. reluctant to share their old stories. So, she had begun with printed stories and hoped that she might yet be able to write down some Togiak versions.

I continued my itinerary on Friday by flying from Togiak to Manokotak. I arrived there at noon. A villager took me and my big duffel bag (containing the sleeping bag which, in all my travels, I never used but felt safer for having) by snowgo up to the village, i.e. the school. I found the doors to all the classrooms closed, with the exception of what looked like the 1st grade room. This turned out to be film day, and the first graders were just seeing one film. (Later that afternoon, the other grades also saw films. Van Chaney explained that films did not always arrive when it was most meaningful to show them but had to be shown when they were available. He considers films extremely helpful in widening the students' horizon. I wonder, however, how far this widening-of-horizons is meaningful; the film that afternoon dealt with time concepts which in every respect are quite alien to the Eskimo way of life; the film also contained quite complex scientific insights that completely baffled me. Seems to me that this expansion of the horizon is possible in the village only to a point; it would be much more meaningful to ground the students

more thoroughly in the knowledge pertaining to their immediate environment and to branch out later.) I was also struck by the "all-American" decorations and activities in the first grade classroom. (This observation was made in Togiak as well; it is not intended as a criticism of Alyce Chaney or Helen Stewart; rather, it is an observation of how far we still have to go to make allowances for regional or other differences pertaining to the teaching of children from minority groups all over America.) That is to say, first graders in these two schools in the Alaskan "bush" were concentrating on learning about Thanksgiving. Although most of them had only in September begun to learn English, they were now extending their efforts towards a rather useless vocabulary; they would rarely use the word "pilgrim," they would rarely see a turkey on their table, let alone in nature; the only word that they would find useful might be "Indian." I do not advocate that these students should not learn about American holidays, but I do think that they should learn about those that do not immediately concern them later. The first graders were practicing songs and games (having to do with Thank sgiving) that they were to perform at a program the following week to which the parents would be invited. (The Chaneys were also planning a big Thanksgiving dinner to which villagers who had never had or seen one were to be invited.) So, they rehearsed before me. I then spent some time with Van Chaney's 6th, 7th and 8th graders, talking about Germany and giving Van a demonstration in foreign language techniques by teaching the students a few German words. Unlike the Togiak students, these were, however, less enthusiastic and slow to respond which was due, to a large extent, to their age, but they might also have been a more reticent group.

This being Friday evening, there was little time after school before the weekly movie which was to be shown at the school at 7 o'clock. So, we went to see the movie and had a conference about the EPDA project afterwards. It turned out that my "demonstration" had been lost on Van Chaney since he was

teaching only math and social studies in Basic Adult Education, and only Alyce had the beginning English class. She showed me the work she had prepared for her class. They had concentrated on learning the names of the objects in the classroom, of wearing apparel, of simple things with which the people were familiar from movies. They had learned simple questions and statements; they had practiced letters that caused difficulties, and they had learned to read and write as well as speak. (They had wanted to learn to read and write in order to correspond with their children away at high school.) They had practiced speaking the least because Alyce was at a loss as to how to get them to speak with each other in a more natural way. So, I suggested again the use of "basic dialogs" as they are now widely used in foreign language teaching. I also suggested that I would ask Rosalie Tyler to forward the two books left with her after she no longer needed them. I proposed that Van Chaney select a topic that was of more immediate concern to him. He decided to give unipacs some thought.

Up to this point all had gone according to schedule. On Saturday the first snag developed. Western Alaska Airlines does not operate on Saturday (the operation closes at sundown on Friday because of religious beliefs); I should have chartered to be picked up at Manokotak Saturday morning in order to catch the noon plane back to Anchorage. Instead I had, following Arlen Ruby's advice, asked a Dillingham teacher who owns his own plane to come pick me up. It was overcast that day and when no plane appeared I assumed that the weather was too bad. So, I spent Saturday in Manokotak; feeling under the weather myself I didn't even make use of the time to walk through the village and make an attempt at meeting some of the villagers. I did attend the Moravian church on Sunday morning but just as the service began a plane was flying over the village and I decided to investigate if it would take me along. It was a Western Alaska Airlines plane, and the pilot agreed to take me back to Dillingham. When arriving there, I decided to notify "my" pilot that I was back and

found him trying hard to start his plane. He had not been able to come for me on Saturday because his plane couldn't be coaxed into starting then, either, and the borrowed plane had lost a wheel while taxiing for take-off. I was comforted for being stuck until Monday afternoon by another steam bath that evening.

Returned to Anchorage late Monday afternoon. Although I had made it plain that I anticipated a delayed return (everybody who travels to the bush has lots of "bad weather" stories), there was consternation on husband's and colleagues' parts and so I learned that on future trips I must leave very detailed instructions.

Slightly late again, Wien's jet took me to King Salmon on Sat., Dec. 6. I had hoped to have a good view of the left side of the Inlet, but there was no view. In Naknek, too, the weather posed problems: The roads were covered with ice on top of which stood water which made any kind of locomotion extremely hazardous. The McCormicks took me safely to the Ostroskys', however, and after that we only ventured out when we absolutely had to.

That afternoon, I conferred with all three participants: Anisha Mc Cormick, Kathryn Ostrosky and Sara Hornberger. We discussed their individual projects, but mostly we talked about Anisha and Kathryn's who were planning a Yupik class in conjunction with a Native culture class to be started by the Bristol Bay Historical Society. Anisha was also going to teach Sara's first graders Yupik (in connection with Sara's project of teaching her children the heritage of the Bristol Bay area). We also discussed the primer that this group had, under Mary Lou Holthaus' guidance, put together during the last days of the summer institute. I agreed to type it since the Naknek school's primary typewriter was in bad repair so that Sara had spent many hours without getting very far. Once again, I also tried to be helpful in giving advice about how to teach a foreign language.

In the evening a dinner was to be held at Jenny's to which I was invited. This is a yearly affair, a spaghetti dinner at which Jenny, proprietress of a bar and restaurant, which should also be designated as Naknek's museum, furnishes the food and service, and the proceeds to to the Naknek school. I was overwhelmed by the many beautiful old lamps (mostly from boats), artifacts and bottles which make this place a charming museum. I met many of the Naknek teachers as well as the members of the Bristol Bay Historical Society, and I learned of the problems of this community and of its school.

Sunday afternoon there was a meeting of the Bristol Bay Historical Society.

Once again, we discussed the classes which were planned for after Christmas. We discussed books which might be helpful in preparing these classes. I looked at the library which the members had begun to establish, and I offered to take two books which a pilot had found in an abandoned Russian church on the Alaska Peninsula and donated and which nobody had as yet been able to read to AMU's Russian professor so that she might at least tell the Society which books they had there. (They both turned out to be religious tracts, one in Russian, the other--most interestingly-- a bilingual version in Old Church Slavonic and a dialect that stymied even the authority on Old Church Slavonic at Indiana University; he wrote back much later that it was found to be Siberian Eskimo.) I also promised to find out from AMU's librarian how the Society should go about getting a library discount in purchasing books since Naknek had no public library and they were planning to develop their small holdings into one. (Miss Carroll of AMU provided this information and also suggested that the Society contact the State Librarian in Juneau for certain free materials.)

Monday morning I went to school where I got a first-hand look at a brand-new school arranged according to the open-classroom principles. I was amazed at how quiet things were in the morning but while speaking to an English class at noon I found the interference from neighboring classes quite disturbing. I taught the 1st and 2nd grade (team-taught) class some German, spoke to the 6th grade about Eastern Germany and the effect the Berlin Wall has had upon the divided Germany, and sat in on the 8th grade's studying Shakespeare. I was keenly aware of the tug-of-war between an inflexible, very conservative administration and the lively, liberal, younger teachers who are not encouraged at this school. The students suffer. Here, too, I regretted not having slides to show and promised to come back with them.

This trip was to make possible a colloquium around which the follow-up program had originally been designed. All the participants from Naknek and the Dillingham area were to get together in Dillingham Saturday morning for a discussion. I intended to fly into Dillingham from Anchorage but had to change my plans because Wien Consolidated had once again changed schedules. (One thing I learned this year: Never plan to travel to the Alaskan bush without checking airline schedules several times, the last time a day before leaving!) I, therefore, had to fly to King Salmon on Friday afternoon. This made a conference with the Naknek participants possible that evening. We discussed primarily the primer which I had, in the meantime, typed and brought along. I was bothered by the inconsistencies in using different symbols for the same sound. (While this, of course, is common in English--due to historical development--there does not seem to be any justification in carrying it over into Yupik where it would only confuse.) I made suggestions about eliminating these problems. We also discussed Sara's project. Her colleague had since resigned and the replacement turned out to be a former AMU student, a Native from Dillingham who speaks Yupik and had agreed to teach the first graders. (She did very well as a language teacher although she did not finish the semester because of health problems. The books which I had in turn lent Rosalie Tyler and Alyce Chaney also helped her.)

The next morning, the four of us flew by chartered plane to Dillingham. During the Xmas vacation, I had read Teaching as a Subversive Activity by Postman and Weingartner (two professors of education) and decided that I wanted our participants, particularly those from this area who could meet for discussion, to read this as a sort of textbook. I had sent copies to all of them but did not think that there had been enough time for all to read it. Also, on my two previous trips I had asked all the participants what topics they wanted to discuss at a colloquium. Main topics suggested were unipacs, the Alaskan Readers

(which first grade teachers in this area are using), ESL. Arlen Ruby had agreed to discuss unipacs at this meeting, and he explained this method of individualized instruction quite thoroughly. (Unfortunately, we lost some time because he was mimeographing his summer's paper during which process the machine broke down. However, there were sufficient other topics of interest to all or several of the group, and a lively discussion about individualized instruction in general, about the Alaskan Readers, about various individual projects, about problems at each school was going on.) The consensus of those present (Anisha McCormick, Kathryn Ostrosky, Sara Hornberger, Van Chaney--Alyce Chaney was sick with the flu and the only one who was unable to attend)--Joe McAlister, Helen Stewart, Rosalie Tyler, Arlen Ruby) was that it had been an interesting and helpful presentation. We also discussed scheduling of future get-togethers and trips. The participants inquired about Dean Frost who had just recently returned from leave in Japan and expressed a desire to have him come visit. They hoped Marianna Bunger's February trip would take place in better weather so that she would be able to see more of Togiak and Manokotak. It was agreed that another colloquium would be held in early May which, hopefully, all staff as well as all participants would attend.

This trip was made on January 23-24. I returned to Anchorage Saturday afternoon, Jan. 24, 1970.

The jet for Bethel left Anchorage at 6:30 a.m., and when I boarded it on Saturday, February 21, 1970, it was on time. I had looked forward to this flight over the mountains but clouds interfered, and so I caught a much-needed nap. The band was on hand to welcome me when I arrived in Bethel an hour later. It was the German band, and it played German folksongs! (It had, of course, not turned out for me but as a joke to welcome some BIA official's fiancee who was terribly embarrassed by this publicity.) Gladys Fancher and Sue Cummings met me and took me on a tour of Bethel--the road in, the housing development, Mission Row, the road to Hangar Lake which leads pastthe dump which is the dumpiest dump I have ever seen. This stay in Bethel was necessitated by the fact that supposedly the mail plane for Kwigillingok leaves Bethel on Monday morning before the daily plane from Anchorage (which at that time got into Bethel in the late afternoon--or was scheduled to, at least) arrives; since there is no plane on Sunday, I had to come in on Saturday morning. I had, of course, hoped that I would have some time in Bethel to visit with the Fanchers, Sue Cummings, and Herman Romer even though these four participants of the summer institute had found it impossible to continue in the follow-up. I was curious to hear their reactions to the institute and of the progress of Sue Cummings' culture and Native history course.

Sue had offered me her guest room. She lives in a trailer behind the school. Housing is short in Bethel; so, the State has set up a whole trailer row for the teachers at Bethel State School. I was amazed to learn that the rent on these was rather high. Sue complained especially that for the same trailers the State charges its teachers at Fort Yukon considerably less. I was doubly grateful to Sue for providing me with a room after hearing of what goes on at the only hotel in town. I would not have liked to stay there. (Most people who come to Bethel on school or state business seem to be put up at the school.) That morning and afternoon we went sightseeing in Bethel. In the late

afternoon, Herman showed up, and in the evening, Sue had invited some teacher friends of hers, the Hites' (friends of ours from our U of A days), and Rev. Trodahl (who had shown the summer institute a film of the early days of the Moravian church in Bethel). It was a most stimulating evening.

Sue had earlier told me about her successful class. Student interest is high; even those students who often cut classes hardly ever miss this one. A major problem in this, as in other courses, is the lack of relevant books in the school library. We also discussed school problems in general. Here, as in the villages, new teachers come in order to make big money but they find that money isn't that big. They are also not equipped to handle the problems this community presents. Herman Romer spoke about the difficulty in reaching the students; he felt that there were very few teachers who managed to reach the high school students. It was obvbus during my two days there that both he and Sue have rapport with their students who will drop in with problems or just to visit almost any time of the day and night.

The next morning Sue and I attended the Yupik service at the Moravian Church. Although I didn't comprehend what was said, I was very pleased to understand phrases and to recognize a few endings and other syllables. (Shortly after my return from this trip, a film about the Netsilik Eskimos of Northern Canada was shown on TV, and I was struck by the similarities between the Yupik and the dialect spoken by these Eskmos. Very interesting!) I was intrigued by the occasional use of English phrases--some of these pertained to customs or institutions (like the tax collector) that did not exist in the Eskimo way of life and therefore had had to be borrowed; others, however, seemed to have been included because the speaker like the sound of them or found them otherwise intriguing.

After church we paid a visit to the Hohmans. Real Alaskans! Nancy Hohman, art teacher at Bethel school, keeps house--while her husband serves as the Representative from this area in the Legislature in Juneau--for five children of

her own and five foster children, in a huge home-built house designed like a quonset hut, and she paints beautiful paintings besides. (I regretted not having the money to buy a lovely grass in winter.) Both Hohmans have taught in several villages in the Kuskokwim area; they also fly; Nancy had quite a story of spending 18 hours on a lake waiting for a white-out to clear up.

That evening there was a big dinner at the Fanchers (Max was away) to which all EPDA people, Rev. Trodahl, the Hites' and two visiting school lunch advisors were invited. The most interesting topic of conversation was the story of Gary Fox--a myth in the making--who escaped from the juvenile home up river a year ago and was never found. The villagers believe that he is alive on the tundra, comes in occasionally to get food at his mother's house, and is once in a while seen in animal shape. (I learned at Kwigillingok two days later that people traveling between Kwigillingok and Kongiganak have reportedly seen him there; he is also said to have been seen near other villages.)

Monday, February 23, I did what I did most of during this trip: wait. Because of cloudy weather, the mail plane did not leave in the morning. I had time to show Gladys Fancher's first graders and two other classes a selection of the German and Alaskan slides. But even after noon, I spent more time waiting at Christiansen's Flying Service until we finally took off from the River at 3:30 p.m. There were two other passengers on board, one from Kongiganak, the other Peter Jimmy, janitor of the Kwigillingok school. This flight is very interesting. First there's the River; there are wooded areas, lots of trees, lots of lakes, sloughs. Then the countryside becomes very flat, very white, very undifferentiated. It is no longer clear where there is ice, where land. We stop at Kongiganak, and among all the Eskimo faces crowding around the plane there is one white face which says: "I knew you were on this plane. I knew you were coming." and I commit what I would consider the unpardonable sin by asking "Where have I seen you before?" until I realize that this is Jim Ede and that the Edes are teaching at Kongiganak. Helen Jimmy looks in, confirms that that

was Mr. Ede, and we are off. Then suddenly there's no horizon--nothing but white all around us--a white-out, most dreaded of weather conditions in small planes. But before I can panic we are through; then there are houses on our left, but Peter Jimmy tells me later that that was an optical illusion--there are no houses between Kongiganak and Kwigillingok. We arrive safely in Kwigillingok, and while we have supper and visit with Peter Jimmy (who provides all the latest Bethel news), the weather gets worse and worse; all night the storm howls around the house, and in the morning it's a real live blizzard; one can barely see the houses across from the teacherage. Yet at noon it begins to die down, and at 5 p.m. the sun is shining. No wonder the weather governs life out here.

Sue and I have our first conference this first evening. She's rather discouraged in that all this village seems to think of is "how much." I had mentioned Sue's experience of having an old lady who had agreed to speak a story on tape which Sue was to transcribe and then demanded payment (Sue feels that some other woman put her up to it) to Rev. Trodahl who had visited the village just recently after having lived there for several years when the Mission had been active in the 1920' or 30's. He feels that the villagers are independent and that that is good. Maybe education has "taken"; maybe the villagers have learned that in America success is measured in dollars. But Sue has some willing helpers on her project most notably her teacher aide who has diligently worked on the transcription as well as on the story-knife illustrations. One of the major problems at this school is that both Sue and David have 25 students each (four different grades) which they find too many to work with.

At 1 p.m. on Tuesday, I show the Alaskan slides to a most appreciative audience. There are cries of "Ilaiii" (exclamation of wonder and appreciation) over some of the animals and many of the flowers. After school, we have a session with Agnes Lewis, the teacher aide, who is trying to read Naaqsugenarqelriit

(a Yupik"journal" put out by the University of Alaska Linguistics Workshop which I've brought along--also sent to the other participants) and not very happy with it; she almost always had to read the English meaning in order to make out what the Yupik says. We also look at Sue's stories which are coming along very nicely. We were supposed to go to visit the Edes in Kongiganak--by snowgo--but because of the bad weather in the morning Dave decides to postpone the trip until the next day even though the evening is calm and clear. Peter Jimmy doesn't want to go, and he is to go along because it is safer not to travel alone.

Tuesday, Feb. 25, was a beautiful sunny day. I took the morning "off" to walk through the village and take pictures. The village is spread out over the tundra; there's much space between houses; it becomes apparent that every little bit of high ground is used. The solitude and starkness of the scene were overwhelming. The insignificance of man in this wide-open space was manifested by single houses set against this wide white space as well as by windswept crosses of which there are many in various locations. But I was also impressed by the pluckiness of man who has endured in this environment for centuries. I wanted to look at the church and was lucky enough to encounter the lay pastor who gladly showed it to me.

After lunch there was a slide show of Germany. Again the children were quite responsive but clearly a German village and zoo animals did not touch them as much as Alaskan animals and flowers had. I worked with Sue's 3rd, 4th and 5th graders teaching them some German words and a German children's song. Later I paid a brief visit to the Head Start teachers in order to show Carrie Friend some slides that Rose Barquist (Head Start Coordinator at AMU) had sent along.

After school there was a school board meeting to elect a substitute cook since the school cook had been ill for some time. Then Sue had to monitor the radio. Every day at 4:30 p.m.the BIA office in Bethel sends messages to the various schools and then, in turn, receives some. Teachers are on duty at BIA schools from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. There's a radio hour in the morning too. In

Alaskan bush schools as elsewhere in the nation much better teaching would be accomplished if teachers didn't have all sorts of extraneous obligations. What also hinders good teaching in many bush schools, according to Sue, is the large number of pupils per teacher.

Telegraph hour and village meeting over we get ready for the trip to Kongiganak. The sun is gone. There's a strong head-wind and it's raining. Rather uncomfortable in my dog sled tied behind the snowgo! But I can understand that in clear weather these rides across the tundra must be exhilarating. There's hardly a day when nobody travels between Kongiganak and Kwigillingok; the former village having been established by a break-away group from the latter, bonds are strong enough to make relatives and friends visit back and forth. At Kongiganak I have no opportunity to apologize to Jim Ede for my tactless behavior on Monday; he's gone to Juneau to testify before the legislature. The other teacher couple are out, too; the next day Julia will have all the pupils to herself. The problems the Edes encounter here are those of many other villages as well as those in a new school in a new village. The well has not yet been built; the furniture for the teacherage was never shipped, and the furnace doesn't work properly. There are "bugs" in the brand-new school building, too. The relationship with the villagers is pleasant, however, and Julia observes that she finds the children's English quite good; she assumes that this is so because they are only exposed to it at school where they have a good model whereas they speak Yupik at home.

After the return to Kwigillingok, Sue and I have another session at her project. She is transcribing legends in a "tri-lingual" version, i.e. Yupik, English and story-knife. She is using Hinz' Grammar and Vocabulary of the Eskimo Language, but she is also devising a transcription system of her own. Agnes Lewis, the teacher aide, has been a great help.

Thursday, January 26--waiting for the mail plane which finally arrives at 3 p.m. There are two other passengers, a young woman with a tiny baby who

can't be more than a few days old, and a public health worker who inquires about correspondence courses from AMU. We are skimming across the land, very, very low. Once there's a sudden updraft and the Cessna goes up and down like an elevator. If the plane lost altitude, we would hit the ground mighty fast! The view is good, though, at this level. One clearly sees the pressure ridges in the ice of the rivers. I begin to understand how I could see a non-existent village between Kongiganak and Kwigillingok. We fly over the village of Napakiak--once again the only small cluster of human habitations for miles and miles. The land is vast and intimidating! The farther north towards Bethel we get the less snow there is on the ground. The ice on the Kuskokwim has begun to melt--we spew water in all directions upon landing.

I had made arrangements for a charter flight to Chevak since the mail plane there is supposed to leave Bethel in the morning. But the weather is bad in Chevak, and I'm stuck in Bethel. Sue Cummings' heater has been acting up the weekend I was there. Right now she's in Nome for the basketball tournament; I was supposed to stay at her trailer if I had to be in town but now the heater is out, and so I'm offered the Hites' couch. This is the night of the art class (taught by Nancy Hohman), the only extension course of the U of A offered in Bethel. Practically everybody who wants some "intellectual" stimulation is enrolled, the Hites included. But Rev. Trodahl is at home, and he has time for a long talk about the development of the Moravian church, the development of the Moravian mission in Alaska, the need for tolerance in today's world.

After some fog in the morning, Fri., the 27th, is sunny and beautiful in Bethel. But there's fog moving in and out at Chevak, and periodic checks with different flying services still produce the same negative information--no flight to Chevak. Bob Hites drives me around town. In the middle of the Kuskokwim River we encounter an old gentleman who is washing his car in a huge puddle. In the evening we go visiting--entertainment facilities are limited in

Bethel as the residents will regretfully point out.

Sat. Jan. 27, the phone rings at 8:15 a.m. If I still want to go to Chevak, the plane is ready to take off. Wonder how come this rush? Well, the construction boss of the Chevak school has arrived from Anchorage on the morning jet, and he has no time to waste. We do fly through patches of fog, though, and all during the day in Chevak visibility changes from one half hour to the next. Still, the plane that brought the big man and me comes back in another two hours with another load of passengers to pick the big man back up. The countryside is pretty much what it is around Kwigillingok--open space, lots of water ways now frozen, tundra between. But close to Chevak there are mountains, and just as I think we'll have to turn back because of the fog, the village comes into view--the village dump, that is, a large collection of barrels and cans on the tundra. The village sits on a cliff agove. We swoop around and land on a lake at the other side of the school.

Afterwards we stroll through the village. It has been decided that I shall show my slides to the whole village that evening. Marvin Nehre tells some children who are playing outside the teacherage. He assures me that they are most infalliable news service. The houses in this village are much poorer looking than the ones in Kwig. Marvin also characterizes this village as one of the most backward, i.e. traditional and "undeveloped" in Alaska. The houses huddle close together. There's wood smoke in the air. Wood is brought by snowgo in the winter or by boat in the summer. At the end of the village is the kashigik, the men's house. It's a traditional sod house with a huge fire pit in the middle. The men take heat baths in here and practice for the traditional dances held each spring.

All that day and the next there's a stream of women and children who come to show me baskets, yo-yos, and other handiwork (among that a stuffed baby seal and a butterfly-and-moth arrangement made from seal flippers.)

In the afternoon we go visiting up on the bluff the other side of the school. Rose Barquist has asked me to visit with the Head Start teachers who are registered for a course at AMU but haven't indicated which course they want to take. So I get my first view of the inside of Eskimo houses. The poverty is apparent. The lady we are visiting has just washed the floor and the house is clean. It's a one-room house containing three beds (there are four children in the family), clothes hanging on lines above them, a table, some chairs, a stove, a kitchen cupboard. Next to the stove is a basin with fresh fish which the husband has just brought back from a fishing expedition into the mountains: 60 miles one way by snowgo for three or four pike. Work at Head Start is going well but the lady can't remember the name of the course she's taking.

We pay one other visit. Marvin and Phyllis have a doll with a loon-skin parka and think Mrs. Stone who made theirs might have another. She does not speak English other than the price of the two dolls she has. She has one crippled hand and does all her work--fine work--with just one hand. Amazing! This house looks cluttered and even poorer than the other.

The slide show at school that evening is well attended. I am getting used to having people come and go but the small children playing hide-and-seek under the chairs get a bit disconcerting towards the end.

Sunday, Mar. 1, we go to visit the other two Head Start teachers. First, we drop in on the janitor's family who have a new baby. There's a neat cabinet over the sink in this house. There are bunk beds in the corner, a big bed with the baby on it, a small iron bed under the window. The bunk beds and the big bed have curtains around them. There are six children in this family. Then, we walk up through the village to convey Rose's greetings to the main Head Start teacher who works seven hours a day while the other two only work four hours each. She's has had twins the fall before; one of them is now in the hospital in Bethel, and the nurse's aide in the village does not expect him to live;

the little girl sleeping on the bed seems to be doing fine. Twins are still considered a bad omen in this village. There's a bare-bottomed two-year old crying by the window as we chat with the mother. This is a bigger house than the others we've been in. It's two rooms although these two rooms are not separated by a wall. There are six children in this family also.

The last Head Start teacher we want to visit is not at home but visiting at somebody else's where some game (played on a board) is going on. Several women are sitting around the table and on the beds. The room looks neat. There's a newly killed seal lying on the floor. The teacher we've come to give Rose's message apologizes for not being at home when we came calling. She also asks me to give her regards to Rose.

We leave the village and follow the trail which leads out to the airstrip (on which, weather permitting,bigger planes can land. Much of the year it is out of commission, though.), but we go only as far as the cemetery. What makes this cemetery unique is that because of the permafrost no graves are dug; the coffins are sitting on top of the tundra. Many of the more recent ones have been covered with colorful oilcloth to protect the wood against the moisture. They make a bright picture in the snow. There's a big cross on this hill, too, which overlooks the village and is the first thing one sees when coming in on the plane.

Returned we have a session on the Nehres' project. The major problem they have encountered is the lack of population data between 1890 and 1950. It may not be possible to prove what the study set out to prove (that migration was to the locations of churches and schools). But no doubt the study will yield some interesting results. Much work has been done checking all the village sites in this area and making a map in Marvin's classroom. I learn more about the village of Chevak: Many of the men and some of the women go on binges on homebrew. (Seems to me that in bringing the Alaskan Natives western tech-

nology and its advantages the white man has, with the dangers and hardships of the original way of life, also eliminated the glamor. Since there is no employment to make the cash economy functional, it is not surprising that people seek escape in this way.) Babies are adopted out if the mother's husband is not the father of the baby. The husband may, for a while, withdraw from the community. There's an unusually large number of unmarried men in the village. If young people complete high school, they do not return to the village.

Monday, Mar. 2, is a beautiful sunny day but the morning mail plane does not arrive. I spend some time with both the morning and afternoon classes talking about life in the German village in which I grew up and teaching the younger grades some German words and a song.

A plane arrives in the early afternoon but that's a charter to Scammon Bay and cannot take me. The mail plane finally comes shortly before 5 p.m. but there should just be enough time to get me to Bethel in time to make connection with Wien's flight to Anchorage which is scheduled to depart at 5:55 p.m. But when the pilot checks in by radio at 5:45 p.m. that plane has already departed. (I learned later that "that" plane had left for Anchorage at 4p.m. because all the other passengers were there and I wasn't going to get there in time, anyway! I didn't like them apples!) The flight is pleasant. Northwest of Bethel we notice a big truck on the River--in winter, the Kuskokwim River serves as highway. As we land at Bethel, a jet taxis off for take-off to Anchorage but since there's no stewardess on board it cannot take me.

The next morning, the plane from Anchorage (Wien's jet) does not arrive on schedule. Instead of at 8 a.m., we finally depart shortly before noon. Upon take-off the pilot suddenly cuts back power and the plane swoops down instead of climbing up. But then it's a glorious flight over the Alaska Range-- breathtaking!

EPDA 1969/70 Follow-Up Program Trip 4a Margritt A. Engel

This was not a regularly scheduled EPDA trip. Rather, my husband and I decided to drive down to Homer for the weekend. Since we had made plans early in the week, though, I had called Viola Jerrell in Anchor Point and asked her to be available for a short conference.

On Sat., Mar. 28, we met in Homer and discussed her project as well as some of the successes and failures of the school year. She repeatedly assured me that the new sensitivity to pupils' language problems she had acquired during the summer institute had made a tremendous impact on her teaching. There are any number of children with different language backgrounds(Russian, Spanish, French as well as Native) in the Anchor Point school, and Vi feels that this year she has been much better able to cope with their individual problems. One other problem that has troubled Vi deeply is her pupils' lack of formative experiences beyond those provided by the family and the small community in which they live. She hopes to build a program that would provide for educational trips to Homer, the Kenai-Soldotna industrial area, and others.

She suggested that she take me to meet some of her pupils and their parents but unfortunately there was no time. (Food prices and motel rates have gone up considerably since last fall; we simply could not afford to spend another night and had to head back.) I had originally asked Vi if she would be interested in having me show German and/or Alaskan slides to her pupils, and she had written that she was very much so. However, since I had left my students for several days already during the school year I had proposed evening. But that would not be possible since the students would not be able to come to school. I hope that maybe next school year I will be able to go down during a weekday to show these slides.

Be it noted that this trip was undertaken during AMU's spring vacation, and that therefore I did without one this year. My AMU students, however, were becoming increasingly restive about my being gone so much. They felt neglected. Therefore, I did not think it advisable to take a whole week off from classes (even though the German classes had a substitute whenever I was gone), yet I also felt bound to keep my promise of going back to the villages in the Dillingham area and to show the promised slides.

After my arrival in Dillingham (Mon., Mar. 30, at noon), I once again sat in on two of Arlen Ruby's classes. In both, the students worked very much on their own; the teacher was present only to answer questions, pass out tests for which students were ready, score tests handed in (in the second class, some students helped with this), and to encourage. But clearly the students worked at their own speed. I had offered to show slides at this school, too, but apparently the principal had been too busy to set up an assembly. Arlen and I talked about his project. He commented that he had not been able to work up many unipacs during the year but that he hoped he could get a head start during the summer for next year. He did promise an evaluation of his method as part of his report. I am sure that many of the other participants would be quite interested. (Arlen also told me that he had held a workshop on unipacs for local teachers; interest was quite high. His colleagues had also been quite interested in his copy of Teaching as a Subversive Activity. He had only now been able to read it and found it very stimulating. One of the social studies teachers had made use of one of the chapters in the book and his students had polled the community on various controversial subjects.)

The next morning, while having breakfast at the Star Cafe, I made the acquaintance of the old chief from Perryville (on the Aleutian Chain). He told me that this was his third trip into town: Once he had come in to the hospital

to have glasses fitted; another time he had cut off a finger; this time he had brought his wife in. He was proud to have been instrumental in voting out liquor at his village--fifteen years ago the villagers had voted to make Perryville a dry village, and with only two dissenting votes! He also remembered the volcanic eruption (Mt. Katmai 1912) and described it vividly: The air was black with dust, and one could see red and yellow pumice flying up. It looked just like that mushroom cloud--he gestured--that they show of atomic bombs! Quite a sophisticated commentary from one who didn't get to town much! I presume that movies do, after all, widen horizons.

The flight to Togiak, by Cessna because the Widgin was full of cargo, was windy and hence bumpy. This little plane seemed mighty fragile against the mountains over which it was taking us. We landed on the cross strip, coming in very low over the water, but we landed! Moreover, we had slipped in without being noticed in the teacherage. But I was once again very well received.

I spent the afternoon at school showing slides to three different groups, doing review of the earlier German lesson with Rosalie's class and being entertained by them with Eskimo string games they had learned from their parents since my last visit. The teachers had encouraged the adults in the night class to teach the youngsters and the project had been a huge success. All the children in this class carried a string around the neck and were quite willing to show what they had learned when they had a break. We also played a language game (that I used to play in Germany as a little girl) to practice German color words. One child imagines an object in the room and says "I see something you don't see and it is green." Then the other children have to guess which object the speaker is thinking of. He who guesses the right one gets to play next. (The following week I received letters from this class thanking me for showing them slides and teaching them German. The letters are charming expressions of charming children but they also poignantly illustrate what

difficulties children encounter when they are taught a foreign language in a foreign language as though it were their own. Hopefully things will change in this respect.)

In the evening participants in the Adult Basic Education classes were given certificates of attendance. After that I showed the slides again. Word had gotten around and some of the children came to see them a second time.

Wed. morning (April 1--some of Rosalie's students had a great time in the afternoon "April-fooling" me, and I fell for it every time!) George Cucu, janitor of Twin Hills school, arrived by boat to take me to Twin Hills. There was some drift ice in the bay but he and two young men who had come along to help him launch and again beach the boat steered around that very smoothly. It was a beautiful sunfilled day, sparkles dancing on the water, a little breeze and peace and quiet. There are certainly great advantages to living in Alaskan villages! The boat landed at the cannery on the other side of Togiak Bay, and then the trip continued by snowgo. There was little snow left on the ground (non on the Togiak airstrip, yet snowgos were still very much in operation there, too), but my driver made good use of the many sloughs and breakwater and we actually traveled very short distances on grass or mud. With weather like this being pulled in a sled behind a snowgo was more pleasurable, of course, than the rainy trip to Kongiganak had been. It didn't last long enough!

At Twin Hills I encountered the first (and only) one-room school during my travels. Since we had to return to Togiak while the tide was still in, there was not much time, and so we held a compact session: slides (of both Germany and Alaska), German lesson, finally work on Joe's project which was, however, close to completion. What troubled him was the recording--he had had a difficult time to get his narrator to work with him. The return trip was as pleasant, as quickly passed and at noon I was back in Togiak.

That afternoon I worked again with Rosalie's students and visited briefly

in Helen's room. A beautiful Japanese film (animated cartoon, excellently done) of a Japanese fairy tale was shown; the 3rd, 4th and 5th graders also saw a German fairy tale but I didn't remember it well enough to fill in.

In the evening we looked at Rosalie's and Helen's projects both of which were nearly completed. I could do little but proofread Helen's stories. (She did have better luck in the course of the year with obtaining the assistance of some Togiak residents to tell her stories. The string-game project had delighted adults as well as children and obviously assured them that these teachers had a genuine interest in things Native. That afternoon I had also listened, with some of Rosalie's students, to some of the legends recorded in both English and Yupik. That this was stuff to be done in school was much to their liking.) Both Rosalie and Helen also showed me the cards they had made following Jack Frost's visit. He had shown them how this game could be used to practice vocabulary, and both had found it equally useful with the children as with the adults.

Thursday, April 2, turned out to be another exercise in acquiring patience. The mail plane arrived in the morning but spent a long time unloading. Finally the pilot sent word that he first had to fly to Platinum but would be back around 1 p.m. He came at 2 p.m., and then I spent another hour waiting in the plane. The supervisor of state-operated schools for the Dillingham area had arrived on the plane and gone to the school. Had I known that he would be there an hour, I would have waited at the school or the teacherage. The wind had picked up; it had turned cloudy, and the unheated plane--rocking whenever gusts hit it--was uncomfortably cold. I would, however, have missed two interesting experiences had I not stayed on board. First, a laughing Eskimo woman stuck her head through the door and announced that she was glad I was still here as they had just arrived from Twin Hills and she had brought something along for me to see. It was a beautiful grass basket, and naturally I had to buy it. Sometime later, I had pulled my parka hood up trying to keep at least my head

warm, somebody else appeared in the door and addressed the Eskimo man sitting across from me in Yupik. (I could understand the first words that were said and was most pleased to hear classroom Yupik in action.) After a few phrases the person behind me asked what sounded like "gduna" which I guessed to mean something life "who's that." Having received the answer "gussuck," the person withdrew. Having been told that I was a white person (a gussuck) he was not interested in me.

We finally did leave Togiak and the flight was much smoother and clearer and more beautiful than I had anticipated. Since there were five passengers on board, however, and since the airstrip at Manokotak was turning soft, the pilot informed me that he could not land this heavy plane there; he would take me to Dillingham but bring me right back in a Cessna. Said and done, and I arrived at Manokotak just as school was over. On the way up to school, I had another educational experience, however, A villager had agreed to take my suitcase up to school on his snowgo while I walked up. As I approached the village I noticed three little girls heading in the same direction who, after having noticed me, started walking backwards so that they could watch me. One fell and I made a comment about it. No word from them. Then I admired the purple-rimmed huge sunglasses one of them was wearing. Still no comment but their eyes never left me. Finally one of them found words: "Youre a gussuck!" "And so I am. How about you? Are you a gussuck, too?" No answer. I continued to talk making the statement that she was Eskimo. But all along this little brain had been following its own train of thought; now the wheels had clicked; she'd remembered something. "That's bad," she said. Once again I experienced the frustration of a minority member who's dismissed because of his minority status. A very healthy experience that I shall not soon forget.

Van and Alyce Chaney had been wondering what had become of me, but of course they've been used to sporadic schedules long enough not to be upset about them. Since I was determined to go on to Naknek the next day, it was decided

that I should show the slides that evening. Many of the adults were coming for night classes, and the children could just be asked to come for the slides. This audience turned out to be the most enthusiastic I had so far encountered. They supplied their own commentaries and again Alaskan animals, wildflowers and the shots of Kotzebue received the highest acclaim. But the adults were also quite interested in the German pictures and asked questions about them. After the children had been sent home, I work with Alyce's English class trying to give a demonstration in foreign language methods. Since there was no dialog available we practiced colors and wearing apparel by playing the game of "I see something you don't see," and by having each student describe what he was wearing. Alyce was amazed that I got even the shy ones to talk but apparently Alyce had been quite successful in building up her students' confidence. I was most impressed with the work she had done both as it became apparent in the class as well as in its reflection in her written class lessons. Both Van and Alyce were crushed over the fact that the funds have been so drastically cut that there might not be any adult education program available in the villages or that it would be a badly decimated one. It was clear that these villagers were vitally concerned with and enthusiastic about their education. It is most deplorable that such a successful program can't be continued. Alyce showed me her folder of materials for this class. Most impressive! She must work like mad. I forgot to ask about Van's project--it was getting rather late.

Mike, the pilot who'd taken me to Manokotak had promised to pick me up at the airstrip Friday morning at 8:30 a.m.; Western Alaska Airlines would hold their regular run to Naknek and take me along after he brought me in. So, I was at the Manokotak airstrip at 8:30 a.m. The janitor who had carried my suitcase down for me (a 15 minute walk), returned to the village and I watched the weather, the sky, the patterns in the ice on the little creek flowing along the strip. An hour after the appointed time a snow shower moved in and I gave up hope. But when I was half way up the path to the village, the plane swooped

around the mountain and by the time it had landed I was back, too. The connecting flight was waiting for me at Dillingham and shortly before noon I was at the Naknek school.

Here, I'm afraid, I broke down on the (EPDA) job. I gave three slide lectures at school (most receptive audiences), and one that evening at Jenny's. (The next morning I had practically no voice, and all the following week suffered from a bad cold.) I talked at some length to Sara about the problems she had encountered with her teaching project that semester because the new second grade teacher had become ill and not been at school for several weeks. Apparently, this young woman also had some emotional problems doubting Sara's sincerity when Sara praised her for the fine job she was doing in teaching Yupik. There also was deep dissatisfaction among several of the teachers over the way in which things were going at the school in general. None of the "young liberals" had been rehired, and so the turnover of teaching personnel was once again going to be great.

Later that night, returning from a party at another teacher's home, the Ostroskys and I were treated to a rare sight: The night had turned very cold (it must have been between 2 and 3 a.m.), and the sky above us was enormous. It was the kind of sky I remembered enjoying during the 1957/58 winter in Fairbanks--a huge blue-black bowl dotted with innumerable stars. Right in the middle of this "bowl," however, we saw a broad swath of light and I remembered having recently read something about a new comet. (I found the notice in the Anchorage Daily News of March 30, which reported that John Bennett's Comet, discovered in Pretoria, So. Africa, on Dec. 28, 1969, had been visible in the eastern U.S. skies two nights ago; the picture in the paper had been taken near Philadelphia, Pa.) It was an awesome sight!

I returned to Anchorage at noon on Saturday, April 3.

Traveling north instead of west, I left Anchorage for Nome the afternoon of Thursday, April 23. There were stopovers in Fairbanks and Kotzebue and the countryside was midden underneath clouds almost all the way--when we landed at Kotzebue I was sure there had been an emergency and we were setting down in the middle of the Sound. But Nome greeted me with sunshine, and Ellannas did so too.

That evening Linda and Tom borrowed the elder Ellannas' (Tom's parents) truck--their own VW having given up the ghost only weeks after they'd bought it the previous September and no parts or mechanic in town able to fix it, they were dependent for transportation on friends and relatives--and took me to King Island village on the outskirts of town. (Beltz boarding school where Linda is Dormitory Director is three or four miles out of town.) Tom's father had come to pick us up, and Linda told me afterwards that she had never heard him speak so much English. He told me that he was building an oomiak, a large skin boat; he's working on the frame now (I later saw the ribs that had already been finished at the dance hall), lacking three skins for the covering. When he has these and the boat is finished, they'll go out to King Island (the BIA has forced the King Islanders to move to the mainland because it was found too difficult to maintain a school on the island) and go walrus hunting. It seems that many of the King Islanders are homesick for their village and their former way of life; they've paid a very high price for the comforts provided by modern technology and the western way of life. We visited a while with the elder Ellannas; Ursula, Tom's mother, was working on mukluks (skin boots), thinning the soles around the edges so that the needle would go through more easily when the upper parts were being sewed onto the bottoms. Once the bottoms are made, it takes Ursula three days to make a pair of mukluks. She showed me some of the jewelry her husband had carved for her from ivory--very beautiful!

We then visited the dance hall in which the King Islanders entertain the tourists brought in by Wien Consolidated Airlines and by Alaska Airlines. I enjoyed the dances, but I was even more intrigued by some of the artifacts and masks on display which I had not seen before. I was also (somewhat sadly) struck by the behavior of the tourists (some of whom, obviously having had too much to drink, made fools of themselves) and by that of the children who crowded the back of the hall. They seemed to be fully aware that these dances no longer held any significance other than the means to earn money; they mimicked the songs being sun, and also made fun of the tourist guide.

I gave a show of both the Alaskan as well as the German slides at Beltz School the next morning and found a most receptive audience. Later Tom and Linda proposed to drive to Teller (App. 17 miles from Nome by gravel road). Musk oxen had just been transplanted from Nunivak Island into an area off that road; there also are several reindeer herds in that mountainous region. Since I had planned to fly to Kotzebue that afternoon we asked BIA to relay the message to Martha Barr and Marie Stalker that I would be a day late, and then we made the trip. To my disappointment nothing was to be seen of musk oxen and only tracks of the reindeer. Tom at one point went after a herd of ptarmigan but the ptarmigan stew he promised for supper did not materialize since the birds flew off when he got close enough to shoot.

Teller had just been hit by a tremendous blizzard a few days before; we had to leave the car at the edge of the village because from there on the road was tightly packed with huge snowdrifts. Reindeer hides were hanging on some poles to dry, and in the school house (which we found open and where the janitor later extended a welcome) we saw a huge whale skull. We dropped in on several of Tom's relatives and acquaintances and I observed a carver at work and also saw a young woman carrying her baby in the back of her parka, a sight I had so far not encountered in other villages.

The next day, Saturday, we took the school bus into town but did not have enough time to really get a good impression. We looked at Norton Sound still frozen, but on the way in we had seen open water one or two miles out, and both Linda and Tom were looking forward to a fishing expedition the next day. Some King Island villagers had already gone seal hunting in the open water.

Also, that afternoon Linda gave me a guided tour of the school, and we discussed her project. She anticipated not being able to submit in on time. She had given this evaluation of both the boarding home and boarding school program of the State of Alaska much thought and collected the data but she was afraid that during these last days of school she might not find enough time to write her report. There had been many difficulties at the school during the year which had required extra time and effort on her part so that she had not been able to spend as much on her project as she had hoped for.

In the evening I flew to Kotzebue where I got in touch with Martha Barr to make arrangements for a meeting the next day; Marie Stalker suggested that we discuss her project on the plane since she was leaving for Anchorage, too, to serve as a consultant on some new project; she still had to pack and didn't think she'd be able to spare the time in the morning. (I had, of course, had no idea that she was expected in Anchorage.) Later I took a long walk through the village--at 10 p.m. it was dusk--and found it a curious cross between village and town. I enjoyed recognizing some of the locations of Gus' (my husband's) pictures even though they had been taken in summer, and I was gratified that of the many dogs I saw tethered all over the place only one barked.

The next morning I attended the Eskimo service at the Friends' Church, and lo and behold, Inupik does sound considerably different from Yupik--I neither heard a familiar word nor even a familiar ending of a word. I had to leave early in order to meet Martha Barr at the Head Start school (across from the church) at

the appointed time. I waited for fifteen minutes and then took a little stroll on which I noticed that some resident had planted three trees in front of his house (there are no trees in or around Kotzebue).

Martha was waiting for me when I came back. She explained to me how many children there were in the Head Start Program and how the year had been going. She was a little worried that she might not be employed as a Head Start teacher again next year since every year the village council voted upon who was to have the jobs. It would seem a great pity if Marie and Martha would fall fictim to political considerations (and these do enter the picture); they both seem to be extremely good with their pupils. (Of course, this is strictly an assumption on my part since I have not seen them in action.) We also talked at some length about the language situation. Kotzebue children do no longer speak Eskimo at home but grow up speaking English. Yet there are many older people who deeply regret that their children cannot speak their own language. Martha has begun to teach her pupils some Native words with the help of a primer developed by the University of Alaska Linguistics Workshop. While the children and many parents are enthusiastic about this undertaking, there are also parents who do not like it--they want their children to speak English! I was curious about how Martha got along with the transcription of Eskimo words in a symbol system that largely uses the continental European vowel qualities. (I had tried to encourage to Naknek group to do so also because it seems more congenial to Eskimo sounds than the confusion which exists in English. But Anisha had felt that it was easier for her to transcribe the Eskimo words"the way they sounded," i.e. the way to which she was used through English.) Martha told me that she had had little trouble learning this sytem. She had begun by "sounding out" the words and so had rapidly gotten used to what vowel stood for which sound. She liked the book and she liked the language work with the children. (She also does extensive work with them in English.) Martha had already sent

in her project, a collection of legends. She had also, upon request, provided us with detailed information about her informants. I asked if she would be willing to record them in Inupik. She foresaw some problems in that some of her informants were not in town, others might not want to be recorded. But some of the stories she already had on tape. She promised to do what she could but it might take until fall. We also briefly spoke about an introductory course in anthropology she is taking by correspondence from AMU. She had troubles with the instructions in a study section. So did I. There's nothing like scientific (or scholarly) jargon to confound students and teachers alike!

We had a pleasant return flight on Alaska Airlines. (The famous, much advertised "golden samovar" service was in operation. What silliness! There wasn't enough time, and so the samovar crashed to the floor because the plane was nosing down in preparation for the landing at Anchorage. The beverage dispensed isn't as great as one is led to believe, either.) Marie couldn't tell me too much about her project other than that she is collecting legends and that she would be willing to record them in Eskimo. She would get them to us eventually, and no doubt she will. (I have long marveled at how she can do all the things she is doing: husband, household, four children, Head Start full-time job, sewing, studying. Many women are so much more efficient than I!)

Colloquium in Dillingham! Teaching as a subversive activity! Final get-together! But we had goofed in scheduling in as much as a statewide conference on the arts was being held that weekend in Fairbanks to which staff member Jack Frost and participants Anisha McCormick (Naknek) and Joe McAlister (Twin Hills) had been invited. These three then were unable to attend our last colloquium. It would have been impractical to change the date for the latter, however, in that school was soon to close in the villages.

We had planned a double session--a discussion of Postman and Weingartner's book in the morning for which Sara Hornberger had agreed to serve as discussion leader and an evaluation session in the afternoon. Again we found that airline schedules made it impossible to arrive in Dillingham before noon on Saturday. Therefore, I flew to Naknek on Friday, May 1, and to Dillingham on Saturday by charter, together with Kathryn Ostrosky and Sara Hornberger.

We used Friday afternoon for another slide show. This time I had brought along the slides I had taken during the previous trip (exclusive of trip 6 from which the film had not yet been developed). I showed these at school to Sara's class (other classes joined them) and in the evening at Jenny's to members of the Bristol Bay Historical Society. I had a long discussion with my former student who had been team teaching with Sara until she became ill. The most shattering experience for her had been to find out that teachers in elementary school work hard! She had always thought that teaching little ones was "easy." She was very appreciative of the help Sara had given her as well as of the experience in teaching Yupik. She hoped for a position in another school where she would be asked to teach Yupik.

When Kathryn, Sara and I arrived in Dillingham the next morning, all of the other participants were waiting for us. (Marianna Bunger joined us at noon for the afternoon session.) We had a very lively discussion on Teaching as a Subversive Activity, ably conducted by Sara Hornberger. They all had felt a great

need for flexible approaches to teaching in the towns or villages in which they had been working. They had found--this they stated in the afternoon evaluation session--that the summer institute had given them encouragement and ideas for such flexible approaches. As particular strengths of the summer institute they named the Yupik study and the ESL program, especially the sessions with Dr. Knapp. Of the outside speakers they had above all appreciated the Native leaders (Borbridge and Hensley). In the follow-up program they enjoyed the get-togethers in Dillingham but found staff visits in the villages even more helpful. They appreciated the help given on their individual projects as well as the boost in morale, and they felt that my second visit had "tied things together." Asked for suggestions about improvement for possible future institutes they offered the following: Especially for high school teachers the students from the Upward Bound program (that was concurrently held on the AMU campus) could and should be used as resource people. By the time, participants had met some of these young people during the '69 summer it had been too late; all along more talking <u>about</u> them had been done than <u>to</u> them. In a future institute there ought to be more Native participants, their ratio had been too small. Most importantly, a future institute should be held in a rural setting, possibly a village school, rather than in the city. After our session, Kathryn and Sara having left, I showed my slides again; especially the village teachers present enjoyed those of their villages as well as those of Kwigillingok and Chevak.

That evening a potluck dinner was held in honor of the Moravian minister who was being transferred to Bethel and we were invited. I was treated to a last steam bath, and on Sunday morning, the Rubys gave us a tour through the old cannery that is being torn down. I felt quite nostalgic about having my trips to this area come to an end.

Had this been trip 1 instead of trip 8, chances are that I would not have taken (m)any more trips during the school year. When the Western Airlines plane took off with me on Thursday, May 21, at 9:30 a.m., it only took us half way down the runway where, because of engine failure, take-off was aborted. Forty-five minutes later we took off on plane number two which developed engine trouble while landing at Homer. Plane number three which was flown down from Anchorage three hours later had a defective engine when the engines were started up for the final leg of the flight to Kodiak. This plane, however, had brought along a mechanic who managed to fix this problem, and at 5:15 p.m. I finally arrived in Kodiak. By that time the last scheduled flight of Kodiak Airways to Port Lions had left but Marcia Oswalt whom I contacted suggested that I charter a plane from a Kodiak flying service, and after a very pleasant flight of twenty minutes I did arrive in Port Lions.

The next morning I gave two slide shows at the school (the Alaskan pictures for all the grades, the German ones only for the older ones), and in the afternoon I attended the 8th grade graduation at the Community Hall. After that Marcia and I went on a walk through the village. In the evening I showed the slides at the Community Hall to all who came. After that I discussed with Marcia the problems she had encountered during the year. She had not been able to set up an Aleut language program because she had intended to hire a Native speaker from the village and pay her from the EPDA stipend which, however, Marcia had not yet received. She feels very strongly that she can only make suggestions to the villagers of what programs might be meaningful for the children in school or for the village as a whole; she feels that it is entirely up to the villagers themselves whether such programs are then carried out. She found that there was interest in the study of Russian (many of the older villagers the majority of whom practice the Russian Orthodox faith speak Russian), and while Marcia and

I were having supper at the local restaurant that evening a young white woman had mentioned overhearing two of the older Native women in the store express a regret that the younger people no longer speak Aleut. That the people take great pride in their cultural heritage had become very evident to me during the afternoon when we had paid a visit to one of the villagers who has a beautiful collection of artifacts (found to a large extent on the beaches during fishing expeditions), especially old seal oil lamps and who is quite pleased with showing it to interested visitors. I was stunned when the husband mentioned that they had about twenty more such lamps under the house (which, however, is enclosed and serves as a storage room), that the ones in the house were only the best ones. He very proudly laughed my question off if he would consider selling one. (I was very moved when the next day Reid Oswalt made me a present of a small such lamp that he had found under the heater of the house which they had just bought and were refinishing.) The inhabitants of Port Lions are quite sophisticated, much more advanced in the western way of life than villagers in the Kuskokwim River area. Still, the transition from the traditional to the new way of life is not over, and many of the young people's problems are the same as those encountered by young people from villages anywhere in Alaska. Much remains to be done to make the educational system more human and more efficient in helping them to realize their full potential.

In the morning before my departure the next day, Marcia took me to see the lay pastor of the Russian Orthodox church who gladly showed me the church. Then I was off on my first float-plane ride of which take-off and landing were the high points.

Western's return flight was on schedule; there were no malfunctions or failures, and at 3 p.m. my EPDA travels were over.

EPDA 1969/70 Follow-Up Program Travel Reports Dr. Marianna Bunger

Dillingham - December 1969

I left Anchorage on Friday noon and flew uneventfully to Dillingham. The scenery was magnificent. When we arrived over Dillingham, we circled for almost an hour. There was a fog bank over Dillingham and we had to wait for a break before we could land. When we finally did get down, Arlen Ruby met me and took me to the school. I met the principal of the high school and many colleagues and then had lunch.

After lunch, I had a tour of Dillingham. After school, I went to the Ruby's for dinner and a nice evening.

On Saturday morning I awoke to snow. After breakfast, I went to the school to see if any of the participants had miraculously arrived. No such luck -- so Arlen and I discussed his unipac project over my needlepoint during the afternoon while we unsuccessfully waited for the storm to lift. That night I was taken by the Ruby's to a party at the hospital where I met some interesting people, had my first snowgo ride and was deathly ill in the night.

Sunday morning I continued to regurgitate. That afternoon I was taken to Alegnagik to visit a teacher aide I had trained. The trip was beautiful.

Monday dawned clear and sunshiney. I changed my return trip to Anchorage to Tuesday and set out spontaneously to visit Togiak and Manokotak. I arranged passage via mail plane. The flight, low over the mountains, was magnificent. When we landed at Togiak, I rushed over to see Rosalie and Helen. Our conversation had to be brief for I had to accomplish everything in twenty minutes. I also chatted briefly with Joe on the radio. Then, back aboard the plane and off to Manokotak, where I got off the plane on the river and was told they'd return for me in an hour or so. I rode up the hill to the school on a snowgo. The Chaney's served me Christmas cookies and tea in their

EPDA Follow-Up Program, Dillingham cont'd

house as we talked about their work. Then there was a tour of the school. Just as I was beginning to wish I had brought my toothbrush, the plane returned. There was a brief flight back to Dillingham.

Tuesday morning I awoke to snow. Was I never to get back to Anchorage? I called AMU to let them know what happened. Late that afternoon the snow stopped and the plane did get in. I did make it home after a wasted weekend that really accomplished very little as far as the winter follow-up was concerned. The seminar was not held and my visits with participants were of necessity brief and, hence, little could be accomplished.

Nome and Kotzebue -- January 1970

The Thursday evening flight to Nome was uneventful. After waiting for about an hour for the Ellannas to pick me up, I was deposited at the hotel. I spent the early evening visiting with the mother and aunt of one of my elementary education majors. It was an experience to visit in their homes and to see samples of their skillful skin sewing. Later that evening the Ellannas picked me up and showed me some of the sights of Nome.

On Friday morning, Linda picked me up and took me to Beltz School. She took me on a tour of the school. Then we discussed her project and the work she had done on it. After our conference, I boarded the plane for Kotzebue.

On my arrival in Kotzebue, I went to the hotel. Then I walked to the Head Start center to visit with Martha Barr and Marie Stalker, our participants there. I spent the entire day in their Head Start program observing. Their program was outstanding and both demonstrated they were excellent teachers. We arranged to meet later in the evening to discuss their projects. Both have decided to make a collection of local legends for their projects.

On Saturday morning I met with all Head Start employees to discuss their supplementary training and other situations. That afternoon I met with the Child Care Center employees for the same purpose. After spending the afternoon and evening with the director of the day care center because the hotel would not allow me to stay there after 2 p.m. It was -15° outdoors and too cold to walk around. My first meal in an Eskimo home was chicken curry. On to Anchorage at 9 p.m.

This was an eventful and worthwhile trip with much accomplished.

Dillingham -- May 1970

After an uneventful flight from Anchorage, I arrived in Dillingham on time. There was no one there to meet me and no phone or taxis to get to town (it is too far to walk) so I had to wait about an hour for the freight truck to load and unload to hitch a ride to town with them. I arrived at the hotel, checked in and then, as I set out to find the participants, I saw them walking down the street. We went to the high school for the afternoon session.

Time was spent in evaluating the program and suggestions were made for the hoped-for future institutes (reported in detail in Mrs. Engel's report). Some participants had to leave in the middle of the afternoon to get their planes home. Mrs. Engel showed slides of her trips.

That evening we attended a potluck supper for a minister who was moving to Bethel and later a musical performance by the elementary school children.

The next morning we had breakfast with the Ruby's and were taken to explore an abandoned cannery. Then it was home to Anchorage.

EPDA 1969/70 Follow-Up Program Travel Reports Dr. O. W. Frost

Dillingham, Togiak, and Twin Hills -- February 18-20, 1970

During the above trip, I was able to meet with Arlen Ruby (Dillingham), Rosalie Tyler and Helen Stewart (Togiak), and Joseph McAlister (Twin Hills). I was unable to include Van and Alyce Chaney in my itinerary.

I was able to deliver materials promised by Margritt Engel and to assist the teachers at Togiak and Twin Hills above-named in English as a Second Language activities. Miss Tyler and Miss Stewart plan to introduce these activities in their adult education classes at Togiak, and Miss Stewart also plans to use them in her first-grade class. Some of these same activities were introduced in an afternoon session in the school at Twin Hills. The excitement of the children (even children of the first three grades who do not yet speak English) amazed me, and I foresee that Mr. McAlister will have momentum for several weeks of further development of the game approach to ESL learning.

I saw nothing tangible (that is, in writing) regarding the projects of each teacher, but it is apparent that each is making progress. I felt least able to assist Mr. Ruby since his project in individualized instruction is outside any competence I have.

At each school I was able to show slides of Japan, with commentary, to all the students. I also met with principals and superintendents (Mr. Dan Turner of Dillingham schools and Mr. Terry Chase of State-Operated Schools in SW Alaska). The hospitality was superb.

Perhaps most gratifying was my afternoon in school with the children at Twin Hills and my acquaintance with village leaders both at Togiak and Twin Hills. Mr. McAlister, in particular, has succeeded in winning the confidence and cooperation of Native adults at Twin Hills.

EPDA 1969/70 Follow-Up Program Travel Reports Dr. O. W. Frost

Naknek -- May 7-8, 1970

Arriving at King Salmon airport shortly before noon, I was taken by Charles Hornberger, the husband of an EPDA participant, to Naknek School, where I met the principal and teachers for grades 1-12. Twice in the afternoon I showed slides of Japan to different groups of students.

That evening I met individually with our three EPDA participants in Naknek--Sara Hornberger, Kathryn Ostrovsky, and Anisha McCormick. Mrs. Hornberger, with the assistance of Marcia Thorson, a teacher who speaks Yupik and a graduate of Alaska Methodist University in 1969, had introduced the Native language to her first graders. Mrs. Ostrovsky and Mrs. McCormick had worked together to teach Yupik to adults and high school youth under the auspices of the Bristol Bay Historical Society, of which they are both officers. Both projects had limited success for a variety of reasons, the foremost being Naknek's almost complete loss of indigenous language and culture.

I returned to Anchorage next day after a visit with Mrs. McCormick's Yupik-speaking parents.

6. Evaluation: Because of the individualized nature of the projects undertaken by the participants, no objective forms of evaluation were utilized for the winter follow-up program.

Many of the participants have stated that they plan to continue work on their newly developed teaching methods and materials in the future.

III. Conclusions

The winter follow-up program was successful within the goals set. The participants worked on projects that met their individual needs. Because of this, the participants worked hard and apparently learned a great deal which they were actually able to use.

The staff received an invaluable education about bush teaching and an insight into life in rural Alaskan villages. The staff learned that to know rural Alaska, one must experience rural Alaska by going there. Only in that way can the true picture begin to be understood.

The staff received many indications that teaching had improved in the participants' communities. The teachers' sensitivities to and for students' needs were greatly strengthened.

The teachers' acquired and improved skills in teaching the language arts primarily in teaching English as a Second (to the pupils, foreign) Language were widely used. Many plan to continue this work in the future.

The participants were extremely disappointed that the project in Teaching Alaskan Native Youth was not considered for refunding. Both staff and participants had learned a great deal from the first year that could have resulted in a much improved program.

There is still so much to be done in the area of TESOL in Alaska--and so little is available for teachers here who must face and cope with Alaska's most unusual educational problems. The teachers who participated in the winter follow-up were most appreciative for what was done and accomplished. All

expressed the hope that in the future institutes such as this will again be made available to Alaskan teachers.

All things considered, the staff realized early in the winter follow-up that we had not recognized or taken into consideration Alaskan realities (weather, planes that don't stick to schedules, towns that shut up entirely because of local religious beliefs on weekends, distance, cost of transportation for teachers, etc.) when planning the follow-up program. Seminars in a central location are impractical here. Flights, scheduled or charter, (if they can go) are expensive. This is the only way to get any place. There are no roads in rural Alaska. Distances are huge. One must think in terms of hundreds of miles. A rural Alaskan teacher must maintain the school. He is in charge of the furnace, the radio, etc. He cannot leave the building unattended for long periods of time. An unattended, disabled furnace is a disaster in the cold climate.

Another problem encountered by the staff was the realization that the work of the follow-up program was more demanding than expected. We learned that it is not possible to travel as was required as an additional assignment to regularly required academic duties. In the future, the staff member who is assigned to travel in Alaska should be a full-time employee with the institute work his only responsibility.

Mrs. Margritt Engel, the staff member who traveled the most extensively, wrote the following report which summarizes clearly and succinctly the accomplishments of the winter follow-up program.

EPDA 1969/70 Follow-Up Program Evaluation Margritt A. Engel

I am led to believe that mostly through my trips and to a much lesser degree through correspondence with them I did our participants some good this past year. Many of them have told me so. I would also presume that through my interaction with our participants' pupils I have furthered their education somewhat. But even if I had done neither any good, my time and, more importantly, the (taxpayers') money would not have been wasted. I have received an education during these trips that many years in college could not have provided. I have come away with a great amount of respect for the bush teachers about whom many negative things are said. I will think twice before saying anything negative about bush teachers in the future, because much must be said in their defense. If teaching in the Alaskan bush does not produce the best results, it is not so much the teachers who are to be blamed than the system in which they have to operate. Even the best teacher and the most sensitive and broad-minded person cannot operate well enough if he is not trained properly. Alaskan bush teachers ought to be thoroughly trained for teaching Alaskan Eskimo and/or Indian children; a 2 or 3 weeks' session is not enough to prepare them for the unique problems they will encounter and for the isolation from ready aid in which they will find themselves. American teachers are generally not prepared to teach in villages, small rural schools in many states notwithstanding. Yet many of the attitudes that many teachers coming to teach in Alaskan villages encounter and find so difficult to cope with are village problems, not uniquely Alaskan or Eskimo or Indian. Many of the complaints I heard were complaints with which I was quite familiar because I had heard them from German teachers or I had read about them in innumerable stories and novels involving German village teachers. Teachers are outsiders in any village; it is not just white teachers who are outsiders in Eskimo or Indian villages. Of course, the isolation of most Alaskan villages which, for the most part, are only accessible by air which is often hampered by bad weather, and the fact that often the next village is too

far away even to reach by snowgo make life in Alaskan villages maybe more difficult than in other villages.

The greatest problem, however, seems to be to be our inability as a people to make the greatest possible allowance for regional differences and our failure to encourage imaginative and flexible approaches instead of an educational regimentation throughout the country. When I taught in an Orlando, Florida, high school I was appalled that our school day was the same as elsewhere in the country instead of making allowances for the great difference between the climate in Florida and e.g. the northeastern U.S. After 1 p.m. it was simply impossible to teach anybody in that school anything let along expect anybody to learn anything because it was simply too hot. I am sure that this 8 a.m. to 2 or 3 p.m. school day has its very serious drawbacks in the Alaskan schools as well. Our country is too big to prescribe sameness. Most of all, this "regimentation" is deplorable when we hold the same expectations for all pupils. It is cruel and unreasonable to expect that a child who has been taught all his subjects in a foreign language arrive at the same point at the same time as the child who has been taught in his native language. There are the very real hardships under which not only Alaskan children in the bush labor but their teachers as well.

The need for the recognition of differences is very great in Alaska. When I was asked at the beginning of last summer's institute by one participant if anybody on the staff had ever taught in a village I was glad to be able to say that, yes, Mary Lou Holthaus had taught several years in Naknek. I was quite taken aback and felt very much put on the defensive when the participant said, rather disgustedly, that Naknek was not a village. Now I would say the very same thing because it is obvious that there's a great difference between communities like Naknek and Dillingham or like Togiak and Chevak. Having visited several bush communities I am convinced that having lived and taught there is still quite another matter, and although I would hope to be able to share my EPDA education

in the future I would once again--and more strongly than after the summer--opt for a real live bona fid (if need be I'd settle for a former) bush teacher on the staff of any training program for bush teachers. He would not have all the answers, either (if he did, we would do better not to employ him), but he would be able to say that he had been there and knew precisely what the participants were talking about. That is VERY IMPORTANT. More important, however, would seem to be that such training be provided before teachers go out to teach in the villages, not after they have had to struggle through a year or two--it may be too late after that year or two.

As for the staff on a follow-up program, more specifically this past year's follow-up program: Theirs ought not to be an additional assignment but a full-time obligation or, if that's not possible, at least part of their regular teaching load. Even if I had not ended up by taking the most trips and had undertaken only the four I was scheduled for, the time involved would have necessarily been more than just ten per cent. Looking back upon the year--apart from the satisfaction and thrill over the knowledge gained and the pleasure of meeting people and seeing this beautiful state of ours--the overpowering feelings for me are those of guilt for not having done justice to any of my students on or off campus and of utter weariness. Had I not looked upon the total involvement on the trips taken as necessary and worthwhile for the sake of (my) education, I would also possibly feel some regret for the many hours wasted. Traveling in the Alaskan bush is a very time-consuming business even if one is relatively lucky as I no doubt was and even though any kind of traveling requires some time. Had we been more knowledgeable or had we listened more attentively to our participants we would have known beforehand that colloquia on Saturdays in central locations are just not in the nature of things in the Alaskan bush. Under the circumstances, I think we did the best we could. And did it fairly well. Long-range effects might yet prove even more satisfactory. I hope so.

Appendix

Appendix

Roster of Participants

1.	Alice Chaney	Manokotak, AK 99678
2.	Van Chaney	Manokotak, AK 99678
3.	Ruby Dunn	c/o State School St. George Island 99660
4.	Linda Ellanna	P. O. Box 10 Nome, AK 99762
5.	Sara Hornberger	Box 618 Naknek, AK 99633
6.	Viola Jerrell	Star Route B Homer, AK 99603
7.	Joseph McAlister	Twin Hills via Togiak, AK 99678
8.	Anisha McCormick	Box 30 Naknek, AK 99633
9.	Marvin L. Nehre	BIA School Chevak, AK 99568
10.	Phyllis Nehre	BIA School Chevak, AK 99568
11.	John P. O'Hara	c/o School Ft. Yukon, AK 99740
12.	Barbara O'Hara	c/o School Ft. Yukon, AK 99740
13.	Kathryn Ostrosky	Box 125 Naknek, AK 99633
14.	Marcia J. Oswalt	General Delivery Port Lions, AK 99550
15.	Arlen E. Ruby	Box 121 Dillingham, AK 99576
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YUPIK ESKIMO COMMUNITIES

BETHEL

CHIGNIK

EMMONAK

MOUNTAIN VILLAGE

ST. MARYS

TOGIAK

TULUKSAK

1969 SUMMER INSTITUTE IN TEACHING ALASKAN NATIVE YOUTH

ALASKA METHODIST UNIVERSITY

SP004482

YUPIK ESKIMO COMMUNITIES

Bethel

Chignik

Emmonak

Mountain Village

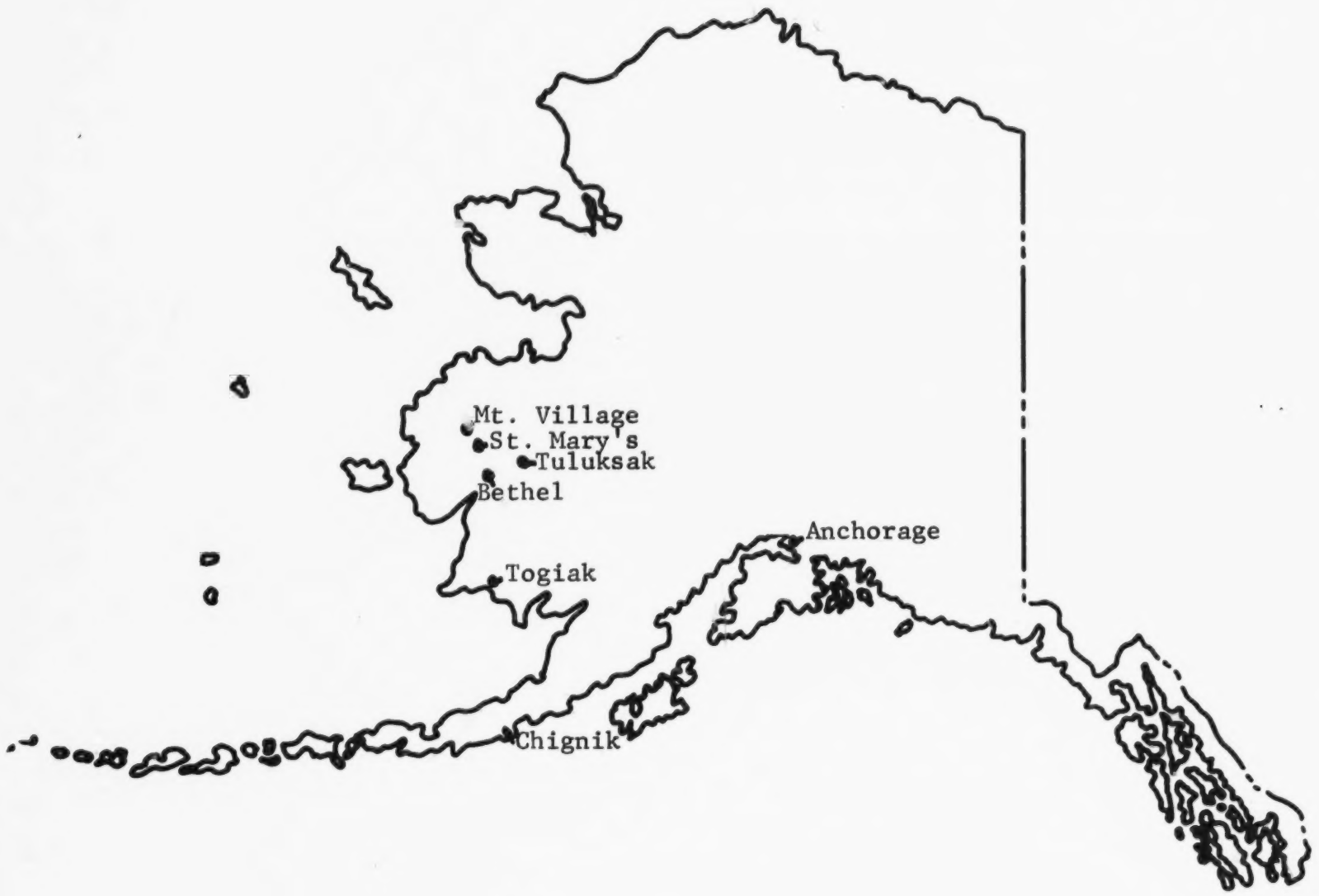
St. Marys

Togiak

Tuluksak

Alaska Methodist University

1969


Mt. Village
St. Mary's
Tuluksak
Bethel
Anchorage
Togiak
Chignik

FOREWORD

The following primary source accounts of seven Southwest Alaska Eskimo communities were completed during the summer of 1969 in a seven-week institute at Alaska Methodist University conducted under a grant from the U. S. Office of Education. The program of the institute included the study of Alaskan cultural anthropology. The papers in this volume were an outcome of this study. The authors include a superintendent (Maxwell Fancher), five teachers (Sue Cummings, Gladys Fancher, R. W. Kinney, Sister McLaughlin, and Helen Stewart), and five teacher-aides (Margaret Andrewyuk, Nicholas Benedict, Vicki Benedict, Trudy Carlson, and Sophie Hootch). With few exceptions each has been resident for many years in the village presented.

These projects were supervised by anthropologist Nancy Yaw Davis with assistance from institute colleagues Marianna Bunger, teacher education; Margitt Engel, language and literature; Mary Lou Holthaus, social studies; and Patricia Ann Locke, arts and crafts.

O. W. Frost, ESL
Institute Director

May 1970

Introduction

This paper is a short statement of Bethel's regional setting with a view of early development and a look to the future. The city of Bethel is greatly misunderstood by many people, disliked or disregarded by others, but home to me.

To those of us who have lived in Bethel for a few years, the "fish bowl" surveys are frequently distressing distractions from the daily activity of life. Unfortunately, most people fail to realize the potential resources which are available in Bethel and the surrounding area.

This report is but a step in the process of identity and a projection for the future. Time now allows only a glimpse at the problem. Hopefully, when the 1969 Comprehensive Plan is presented to Bethel residents they will interact and this process will enable a plan to be developed which will provide a base for future development.

It is imperative that a comprehensive plan be developed for Bethel which is scoped through the eyes of the community not through the eyes of an outsider. The Alaskan Frontier is rapidly changing and Bethel will soon take a large part in this transitional process.

CONTENTS

Bethel

Bethel Looks to the Future, by Maxwell L. Francher. . . . .

Bethel in Transition 1955-1969, by Gladys Francher. . . . .

A Teacher's First Impressions of Bethel, by Sue Cummings. .

Chignik

Life at Chignik, by Trudy Carlson. . . . . .

Emmonak

A History of Emmonak, by Nicholas W. Benedict. . . . . .

The Emmonak Fishing Industry, by Sophie Hootch . . . . . .

Emmonak Beliefs About Death, by Vicki Benedict . . . . . .

Mountain Village

Mountain Village: A Survey, by Margaret Andrewyuk . . . . .

St. Marys

The City of St. Marys, by Sister Mary James McLaughlin . . .

Togiak

Togiak: An Ethnographic History, by Helen Stewart. . . . . .

Tuluksak

Tuluksak in Transition, by R. W. Kinney. . . . . .

BETHEL

Bethel Looks to the Future

I. Regional Setting
   A. Location
   B. Climate

II. Trading
   A. Early Native Center
   B. River Transportation
   C. Air Transportation

III. Governmental Agencies

IV. City Government
   A. Bethel City Council
   B. Sources of City Revenue

V. Population Growth
   A. City of Bethel
   B. Regional Area

VI. Community Physical Problems
   A. Impact of Kuskokwim River
   B. Inadequate Housing

VII. Planning For The Future
   A. 1968 Alaska State Housing Authority Plan
   B. Turnkey 3 Housing Plan
   C. 1962 Economic Plan Completed
   D. 1969 Alaska State Housing Authority Plan
   E. Bethel City Events: 1969

VIII. Looking To The Future

BETHEL LOOKS TO THE FUTURE

Maxwell L. Fancher

The city of Bethel is located on a curve of the Kuskokwim River, approximately 80 miles inland from the Bering Sea and 419 air miles west of Anchorage, Alaska. A map reference point for Bethel would be 60 degrees 48 minutes North Latitude and 161 degrees 45 minutes West Longitude. Bethel is the economic capital of an area in Southwestern Alaska which encompasses 100,000 square miles along and between the Lower Yukon and the Kuskokwim Rivers. Inside this vast area are approximately 66 villages with an estimated population of 15 000 persons, of whom 95% are Eskimo or Athabascan Indians. Situated in the central part of this geographic area, Bethel is the main cultural, educational, economic and administrative focal point for the area.

Bethel is built on a site which is about 10 feet above sea level. However, it is the upper limit for ocean navigation during the short summer shipping season. The Kuskokwim River Valley has been heavily glaciated and most of the area is a deep permafrost (quarternary alluvium) which extends for a depth of 400-500 feet. It is 455 river miles from Bethel to the upriver village of McGrath where an elevation of 344 feet provides a gradient of less than one foot per mile between these two Kuskokwim settlements. The Kuskokwim River meanders through the mountains and out onto the tundra wherever it desires. Whenever the spring break-up arrives and the ice and water push

themselves toward the sea the river channel is prone to change its course and develop a new path. As you fly over this area there is much evidence of the wayward meanderings of the Kuskokwim for the many oxbow lakes and dead sloughs are found in many places.

The original Bethel townsite was at one time located on a bluff, with a peninsula separating it from the main channel of the Kuskokwim River. During the past 50 years this peninsula has disappeared and the high bank of the river front is being battered by the water, ice and winds.

The United States Army Corps of Engineers has given the following climatic data.[1.]

Elevation	10 feet
Length of water observation	34 years
Average Temperature (Fahrenheit)	6.8 degrees-January 40.6 degrees-March 54.5 degrees-July 45.3 degrees-September 29.6 degrees-Average
Maximum Temperature Recorded	90. degrees-1926
Minimum Temperature Recorded	-52. degrees-1947
Average Frost Free Period	103 days

In checking the United States Weather Bureau records for the period 1931-1967 the annual mean temperature, annual precipitation and winds yields the following information.[2.]

	Mean Temp	Total Precip.	Snowfall	Wind Dir.	Hr./Knot
Annual	29.1	19.0 in.	49.1 in.	NNE	13.2

The climate of Bethel is determined by both the continental and the maritime influences. The close proximity to the Bering Sea helps to modify the temperature extremes for most of the year.

One chilling effect of this area is the direct relation between strong winds and the low temperature. This wind produces a chilling effect which is lower than the temperature readings. As a result of this, the "Chill Factor" is becoming a standard measurement of comfort. During the winter months when the winds from the northeast bring moist warm air off the slopes of the Kilbuck Mountains we have the foehn (Chinook) effect. During this period the temperatures may rise 50 degrees in just a few hours. The fall freeze-up usually occurs during the last week of October and the spring break-up comes during the last part of May.

The city of Bethel originated as a Native trading center. Since the west coast could only be explored by sea we don't find many references to this area in recorded historical explorations. Sheldon Jackson encouraged the Moravian Church to send missionaries into this area, and in 1885 this church group established their first station at Bethel, Alaska. A report of Moravian Mission activity which seeks to portray the manner in which the early missionaries became a part of the local communities and worked with the Natives is well stated in the book by Anderson and Eells.[3.]

> No attempt has been made to destroy sweepingly native Eskimo traditions and habits, but rather the attempt has been made to enable the Eskimo gradually and in a natural manner to see from example that certain modes of life are superior to their old tribal ones. It is a slow process, but it has kept the Eskimos anchored to the past while at the same time casting a line forward to the white man's world of the present and the future upon which to haul. By this method the people have been cast adrift in the sea of cultural confusion, and they are likely to preserve the best of their tribal habits while adopting the necessary parts of the culture of the whites.

Bethel soon became a center for river transportation. There were small boats, two sternwheelers, and in 1885 the first modern boat called the BETHEL STAR began to operate on the river. The first ocean going vessel, named the "Zenith", arrived from Nome in 1910. By 1914 the river was properly charted for ocean going vessels. Some called this charting the most significant change in the history of Bethel.

Air transportation first came to Bethel in 1926 when J. B. Felder flew from Fairbanks to Bethel in 5 1/2 hours. More and more modern aircraft came to Bethel and in the early part of June 1969 the first Wien Consolidated 737 Jet landed at Bethel. The flying time by jet is but 45 minutes to Anchorage.

Governmental agencies have been making Bethel their headquarters for many years. As early as 1924 a traveling U.S. Public Health nurse was assigned to Bethel.[4]

In 1939, the USPHS Hospital was relocated at Bethel. Each year following saw more governmental agencies moving into Bethel. The Alaska Department of Labor reported that by 1966, there were 422 governmental agency jobs filled in the Bethel area. Of this number only a few jobs were held by local Eskimo adults. Since 1966, most of the government jobs created have been designed for and filled by Eskimos in the area. At the present time the thrust is to develop jobs for the Native Alaskan and only give a job to the Caucasian if a Native is not available.

For a great many years the village of Bethel had no organized city government. Local citizens, civic and church groups, and the Bethel Chamber of Commerce attempted to provide some structure of leadership for the villagers. In August of 1957, Bethel citizens voted to incorporate as a Fourth Class City under the new State Laws which had been enacted to assist local communities develop self government. A five-member City Council was elected and the town meetings began to draw the community of Bethel together as a working force. The need for sanitation service, street lights and police protection became the immediate goals of the city.

Under the powers and responsibilities of the city, Bethel voted for a 2% City Sales Tax (the only tax allowed under 4th-Class City incorporation. A maximum rate of 3% may be imposed, if approved by the local citizens.)

A few years later the City Council was increased to a seven-member governmental body. The elected council appoints their own mayor and the conduct for all meetings is as dictated by standard methods. In addition to the council the Bethel government has a paid City Manager and City Clerk-Treasurer. At this time Bethel has two sources of revenue for city operation: the 2% city Sales Tax and a community liquor store

The city of Bethel has grown at an ever increasing pace during the past four decades. Listed below and in the graph which follows are statistics which show this increase in population for Bethel and the surrounding area. This information is taken from 1929-1960

population census data, 1967 Federal Field Committee information and the 1970 and 1980 Alaska State Housing Forecasts.

Past & Projected Population
City of Bethel and Bethel Region
1929-1980

year	City: Bethel	Bethel Region	City Pop. as % of Region
1929	278	7,498	3.7
1939	376	7,739	4.9
1950	651	8,290	7.9
1960	1,258	10,966	11.5
1967	1,750	12,628	13.9
1970	2,200	14,500	15.2
1980	4,300	20,000	21.5

It is obvious that the villagers are moving from the small settlements into the larger areas. Some come because of hopes for employment. Others come to enable their children an opportunity of a high school education close to home. Many of the villagers want better opportunities for their children and the family turns toward the larger community such as Bethel. Because of this in-growth migration into Bethel it is now mandatory that a program for future planning be initiated for the City of Bethel.

Another reason for the need of a planning program for the future of Bethel is the impact the Kuskokwim River has had on the city. Due to the continual river bank erosion and frequent flooding of large sections of the city a request was made to the U.S. Corps of Engineers for a riverbank revetment study in 1956. (From 1938-1956 approximately 40 buildings were moved from their locations adjacent to the Kuskokwim River to new positions some distance from the Kuskokwim River to new positions some distance from the river.) If the Kuskokwim continued to erode at the existing rate the entire

town would be forced to move within a few years. After much heated discussion and study the Engineers reported that the benefit-cost for a revetment was excessive and impossible.

The city of Bethel disagreed with the 1956 study and report. As a result of this report the city prepared a Socio-Economic Report of their own. This report cited the fact that Bethel was no longer a village of seven houses but rather a fast-growing, centralized community in Western Alaska. To move the village away from the river, a major undertaking, would be to destroy the economy of the village unless a City Development Plan provided a structure for this move. Between 1956 and 1966 many heated discussions, both formal and informal, were held regarding the movement of Bethel to a new location. Finally in 1966 action began to take shape which was to provide the channel for this move. (During this time a report written by Dr. Lado Kozely--O.E.D.P. Economic Program: Bethel Area, began to incite some action. I well remember the day when Dr. Kozely said to me: "I will not make any friends but I will make the Bethel citizens get off their apathy." Dr. Kozely's report did create an effect which enabled inertia to be overcome, at the personal cost of his job.)

In 1966, a 2000 ft. revetment along the Bethel river front became a reality. A 1000 ft. upriver extension was added but during the summer of 1968 the revetment began to deteriorate in front of the Moravian Bookstore, and First Avenue had to be moved back several feet.

The city was awakened and requested assistance to plan for Bethel now and in the future. In March of 1968, the Alaska State Housing Authority prepared a report entitled: City of Bethel, Comprehensive Plan. This report cited three major factors which have so greatly influenced the city development.[5.]

1. Change in the course of the Kuskokwim River
2. Influx of Federal & State Agencies
3. Influx of natives from the surrounding region

Several years ago Senator Ernest Gruening was speaking to the Bethel citizens in the National Guard Armory at Bethel. Senator Gruening stated that the housing at Bethel and the surrounding villages is deplorable and something must be done about it now. A bystander of some 35 years in Bethel said that the Senator had stated the same fact two decades ago at almost the same spot. He went on to add that it seems everyone talks about change but no one dares start the change.

The citizens of Bethel talked about changing the location from the river bank to the high ground behind the city. National attention began to focus on Bethel as the news media shot many pictures of the deplorable Bethel housing. A large number of people now began to seriously read Dr. Kozeley's report on the Bethel area. The local citizens began to bombard their State and National legislators for Native housing. A report from 1965 was updated and of the 371 housing units in Bethel, 252 units, or 68%, were called "shacks". These units were small, overcrowded, poorly constructed, had approximately 400 sq. ft. of living space but provided a home for an average of 6 persons.[6.]

A project entitled TURNKEY HOUSING (3) was initiated to provide housing for low-income people living in the city of Bethel. Unfortunately, this program did not initially provide for local development but followed the pattern of being developed at the higher level and then feeding down to the grass level. As a result of this, the program had many difficulties and floundered for a time. As the local natives of the area began to become organized and state their real feelings the ASHA began to listen to the people.

A factory to construct these houses was built during 1968 and the new dwellings began to roll off the assembly lines. One important phase of this program is the fact that between 60-70 men are being trained to work in the new factory and construct these houses, move them to the new location and place them into operation. The economic impact of this program is very important for the future of the area. As of this date approximately 80 homes are on location and most of them are occupied.

During the development of the Turnkey 3 Housing the ASHA began to develop a plan for the future. This plan will perhaps make more changes on the lives of Bethel citizens than almost any other factor.

Back in June of 1962, an Overall Economic Development Program was written for Bethel, Kuskokwim and the Wade Hampton Election Districts. The four proposals for the Bethel District were:[7].

1. A vocational boarding school
2. Bulkheading the shores of the Kuskokwim River
3. Small Boat Harbor
4. Community Building

(In August of 1969 the Bethel Regional High School schematic plans are at the State Architect's office. The Kuskokwim shores have a wooden revetment in front of the city. A small Boat Harbor is an integral phase of the TurnKey 3 developmental program and a community building has been funded and the unit will, hopefully, be constructed in 1970)

In just seven years the entire four major objectives of a planning committee were either a reality or about to be so. A second report was also quite successful. In 1965 the Bethel Socio-Economic Report listed four Immediate-Range projects.[8.]

1. Construction of a community center
2. Protection of the town from river erosion & flooding
3. Survey of a townsite for tomorrow
4. Construction of new business & government buildings

(As of August 1969 Item 1 is now designed and construction should be a reality by 1970. Item 2 has initially been completed for a 5-yr. period. A survey for a townsite of tomorrow is a reality. New business establishments and government buildings are underway.)

This same report listed additional goals. Both the Intermediate and the Long-Range goals are on the way to reality. True, not all phases of the projects are in action status but many are being developed.

The impact of the Alaska State Housing Authority Planning and Development proposals are encompassed in the 1969 Bethel Comprehensive Plan. This plan is being developed at this time. This document proposes many ideas which if grasped by the community of Bethel will help smooth the way for the citizens of the city.

Listed below are some of the most recent proposals for the city of Bethel.[9.]

1. Relocation of residential area-to north and west of existing townsite.
2. Encourage development of a mixture of housing, for Native and non-Native residents in new area.
3. Encourage Bethel's riverfront be continued as a transportation and distribution area.

4. Develop a shopping center on Ridgecrest Drive.
5. Encourage light industrial development south of Dull Lake.
6. Encourage heavy industrial area south of the highway near Standard Oil Tank Farm.
7. Establish area for civic buildings in an area convenient & central to the entire community.
8. Plan new hospital west of the existing hospital.
9. Develop regional high school, plus additional grade schools in the area.
10. Develop a public water system for new residential areas.
11. Develop a sewer system for new residential areas.
12. Extend road systems into new residential areas.
13. Develop float plane basin.
14. Develop a community college.

Earlier in this report it was stated that Bethel was awakening. As partial proof of this we are listing some of the activities at Bethel during the past year.

1. City approval of a Community Center. The actual construction is anticipated to begin in 1970.
2. City purchase of a new fire truck and sanitation truck.
3. New Youth Director hired by city.
4. ASHA Turnkey 3 a reality.
5. MDTA class for Clerk Typists.
6. New cafeteria for State School.
7. Municipal airport runway extension.
8. Development of new city programs.
9. Continuation of ABE classes.
10. Otitis Media evaluation on every Bethel school student.
11. American Indian Education study of Bethel school and community.
12. Initiation of National Chapter of Association for Retarded Children.
13. Schematic plans completed for new Regional Boarding School.

Bethel is about to become a leader for the State. At the present time it does lack economic stability, but it is fortunate that it does have one of the largest untapped resources in the entire state--human resources. If the proposals as listed by the ASHA 1969

Comprehensive Plan are accepted by the city of Bethel and implemented by the Bethel citizens, the decade of the seventies will see Bethel mushroom into a leading city.

When the Alaska economist, George W. Rogers, stated that our greatest resources were our human resources, he properly identified the problem for us all. The Bethel Regional Boarding High School is to be the "Lighthouse of Native Education" for the State of Alaska. If this becomes a reality, we will see many changes and developments for the natives of Southwestern Alaska. When our human resources are given a relevant education and the opportunity and position for sucessful, gainful economic development, our human resources will be an asset, not a liability.

The present city of Bethel has seen many changes in the past. At the present the city is learning how to handle changes and develop plans for the future. Will ASHA plans and proposals be accepted and implemented? Will Bethel desire to rise above the present dilemma? If given time and energy these plans will be a reality.

I predict that Bethel will rapidly become the center for Native education in the State. Within five years Bethel will begin to send their own people out to show other villages how to cope with problems.

In 1954 Margaret Lantis wrote a report on Acculturation and Health. She stated, "If the indigenous peoples remain in their traditional home region, with wise leadership they can acquire real competency in modern technology....maintain old knowledge of the country, skills...and old ability to support themselves in part in a non-monetary economy."

The Eskimo of Bethel has been subjected to many different changing patterns of behavior. He has had many different people and agencies promise, pressure, and push him around. Today it is different, for the Eskimo is awake to these pressures. He is fast becoming militant and will soon determine his own destiny. Unfortunately, as Margaret Lantis stated, we have talked at the Native, not with him. Within a very short period of time the Eskimo will be able to point with pride to members of his community who are not only in positions of leadership but also planners of their own destiny. Today we see a few leaders, but tomorrow we will see many more in all walks of life.

Margaret Lantis said that it is wrong to take advantage of the Eskimo's docility. Just last school year Senator Mike Gravel was at Bethel, and as he talked to four young Native high school students he stated, "We have not yet attained the height of docility to which the Eskimo has attained." Instead of seeking to equate change in the Native we must listen to his different cultural resonance and learn from him. Truly in diversity there is room for all to live and work together.

BETHEL IN TRANSITION 1955-1969

Gladys Fancher

As the aircraft descends through the clouds in preparation for a landing at Bethel, many little lakes are seen as well as the large meandering Kuskokwim River, with its many sloughs. The area is very flat and marshy, typical of tundra vegetation, with mountains forty miles away, to the east, visible on a clear day. Bethel, 400 air miles west of Anchorage, is located on the north bank of the Kuskokwim River, on an outer bend, eighty miles east of the Bering Sea.

Air travel has changed during the last fourteen years. When we first traveled to Bethel in 1955, a trip which took approximately three hours, we flew in a DC-3, and landed at the airport, located on an island across from Bethel. We were transported to the village in a small boat using an outboard motor, a trip which took about ten minutes.

Today we would fly to Bethel in an F-27 Prop-Jet, and land on an airport with a 4,000 ft. runway, completed in 1958. A straight flight from Anchorage takes an hour and forty-five minutes. For a short period of time during the spring of 1969, the 737 Jet flew into Bethel, but was discontinued because of scheduling problems, and a runway which was too narrow and too short.

With the advent of the new airport many changes came. A road had to be built to the new airport. Relocation of the F.A.A.

personnel was necessary. Both the building of the road and the relocating of the F.A.A. personnel created job opportunities.

The Kuskokwim River, meandering 455 miles between Bethel and McGrath, the Kuskokwim village furthest east in southwest Alaska, is worthy of discussion since it really could be considered Master of Bethel. There is constant erosion of the river bank and ever present are dangers of flooding after spring break-up. Flooding, which has caused the most trouble, has been the result of ice jams. The most recent ice jam causing floods in Bethel was in 1967.

Attemps to control erosion brought into existence in 1966, a 2000 ft. wooden revetment. However, in 1968, this wall began to deteriorate and part of it had to be moved back. As a safety measure, part of the road running parallel with the river had to be closed off, and at this writing is still not in use.

Bethel's population has grown rapidly during the past fourteen years, but the percentage of natives has remained rather constant. The natives, mostly Yupik-speaking Eskimos, account for nearly 90 percent of the population. The other ten percent are basically Caucasian with a few families of Indian descent. The population has increased from 800 in 1955 to approximately 2,000 in the early part of 1969.

> In 1956-1958 there were 41.7 births per 1,000 aboriginal population in the Bethel area; the aboriginal peoples of this area are virtually all Eskimo. In 1957 a comparable figure for all races in the United States was 25.0.[1]

The reasons for the population increase in Bethel are varied. First, Bethel's birth rate is recorded as one of the country's highest. Secondly, the desire on the part of parents for children to have an education has caused some families to migrate to Bethel during this time. In some of the outlying areas, either schools were condemned and closed or education only reached a certain grade level, so parents moved to Bethel where high school was available. In the last few years more high school students have come in under a state boarding home program. Thirdly, employment opportunities have caused some families to migrate to Bethel. As certain agencies have expanded their services, and others have come into existence, more opportunities for employment are available. In 1968, the Bethel Prefabrication Housing Project became a reality. In the summer of 1969, a new road was constructed behind the hospital, since the river bank erosion has advanced rapidly toward the existing highway. These two projects are examples of job opportunities for the natives in the surrounding areas.

In the middle 1950's an Air Force Aircraft and Warning Site installation was erected in Bethel. Later, in 1963-64, the B.I.A. took over these buildings and used them for their headquarters, since the former installation was no longer necessary for military protection. The old B.I.A. buildings in town were then used to house local B.I.A. personnel, as they are now; one building is used for a community recreation center for the youth.

The "Old Log School," used until the early sixties, was torn down in 1965. Nothing stands in its place. The new school, built in 1959, was called Kilbuck School after one of the first Moravian missionaries, an Indian who came to Bethel in 1885. In 1964-65, a primary wing was added. The new school as it now stands, including Shop, Music, and Special Education, has 37 classrooms, and during the 1968-69 school year housed approximately 750 pupils.

Prior to the airport moving over to the village side of Bethel, the F.A.A. personnel brought their children to school by boat when the river was open. Then followed a period of waiting for the river to freeze over when the children were usually flown over. After this the children were trucked over. One man, not connected with the F.A.A. sometimes used his dog team in winter to bring his boy to school.

The U.S. Public Health Service Hospital, rebuilt in 1950, has undergone some reconstruction and extension. Even in the summer of 1969, some improvements were underway. The Alaska Communication System buildings, along with the National Guard building, built originally along the river front have also been relocated since 1955.

The relocating of the cemetery was a direct result of the consistent erosion of the river bank. Remains of bodies and coffins were falling into the Kuskokwim River. By 1960 the new cemetery site, located on the road west of town, was used exclusively. Further out on this same road is the site for the

Housing Project which, as of the spring of 1969, included eighty houses.

There has also been a change in church buildings since 1955. In 1955 only two denominations had buildings--Moravian and Catholic. During the next ten years two other denominations had built churches--the Pentecostal Holiness and the Baptist. At the present time the Russian Orthodox Church is building a church, but the construction is slow. Both the Russian Orthodox and Episcopal denominations hold services in homes. Another denomination, The Church of God of Prophecy, started a building in the summer of 1969.

The Moravians were the only denomination to relocate any of their buildings. A new church and parsonage was built during 1959-60, with a new building to house the Superintendent of the Alaskan Province in 1955-56. During the summer of 1969, an administration building was built adjacent to the superintendent's building.

The original Moravian church building, built in 1886, was sold, and during the summer of 1968 was literally divided in half and moved to other locations, near the old airstrip. One family moved in immediately after the building had been moved, with few improvements made. The family purchasing the other half hasn't decided exactly what to do as yet.

All five stores have remained in the same locations. Two have changed ownership and one was rebuilt on the same site where the store had previously been burned to the ground.

With the influx of natives into Bethel and with the scarcity of road access, certain areas have become overcrowded. One of these areas has been to the east of Brown's Slough where makeshift housing has been erected. Some of these houses are made of native lumber with tar paper exterior, with little or no insulation, and do not provide adequate protection necessary for cold winters.

Thus we see that during the period 1955-1969 Bethel has spread out considerably to accommodate both the river erosion and the influx of natives. Today, it stretches for about two miles along the Kuskokwim River and extends back from the river about one mile to include the new Alaska State Housing Authority project.

It is very evident that the natives in Bethel are unable to live entirely off the land. Their way of life has changed so that some kind of money income is deemed necessary. Very few natives in Bethel are without a boat, outboard motor and gun. Many also have a snow machine as well. Stove oil, foodstuff, and material for fishing are purchased locally.

> Bethel has a dual economy. There is a vast separation between the means of livelihood, income and standard of living of the white and native peoples in Bethel. . .Most of these people live in a combination of a subsistance and money economy. Living off the resources of the region's land and waters is their main source of "employment and income," In general, the sources of wage employment and money income available to the native in Bethel are meager, especially when compared to prices in the Bethel area. For example, food prices in Bethel are 185 percent of the Seattle food price.[2]

It was not an uncommon thing between 1955 and 1960 for a family to take their younger children from school and go to spring camp. This occurs very rarely now. However, even today, almost as soon as school is out, many of the natives go to fish camp to get their winter supply of fish. It is a very common sight to go up any slough near Bethel during the summer, and see fish drying on the racks. Dog teams are fast disappearing, so not as much fish is necessary as previously. Usually, each dog needs one piece of dried fish daily.

Many of the natives in Bethel still trap muskrat. It takes about 33 muskrat pelts to make an adult parka. During the spring of 1969 I saw 33 muskrat pelts drying in a cool room in a native home. The mother of the household had gone to spring camp with another woman and caught these during a period of a week to ten days. Other times, furs of mink, muskrat, and beaver are sold to the local stores. Their meat is boiled and eaten or dried and stored for winter. For some, trapping is still the main source of winter income, a period when other seasonal jobs may be few.

Many of the gussuk population call upon the native women to make their fur parkas, kuspuks, mukluks, and fur mittens. Some of the women who have moved to Bethel from areas where grasses are available still make the beautiful grass baskets. However, it is the older women who make the items of clothing and baskets. Very few of the younger generation are able to do this sewing and weaving, Sadly enough, these arts are rapidly disappearing.

Commercial fishing has been a source of income each summer, but not a sufficient source to cover all expenses for the coming year. A fisherman's cooperative was formed in 1967, which was able to increase the income of the natives. Some of the Bethel men still go to the Bristol Bay Area to either fish commercially or work in the cannaries. A recent step to further aid the fishing industry in Bethel is in the form of a grant:

> The Economic Development Administration has recently approved a $298,000 grant and $102,000 loan to the cooperative, to be used to build a floating fish processing plant with facilities to process, freeze and store salmon and other fish. The plant's sharp freezing facility will have a capacity of 15,000 pounds per day, and the cold storage facility will be able to store up to 500,000 pounds of fish. The floating plant will be able to move up and down river to tie up at the most advantageous location in relation to the fish runs.[3]

Since in recent years, many dog teams have been replaced by snowmobiles, this extra fish can be sold or eaten by the owner.

Ducks, geese and ptarmigan are available around Bethel. Usually moose are not available in this area. With the presence of many forest fires in the area, as in the summer of 1969, the moose are more apt to be seen around Bethel. Some of the natives charter planes to go upriver to hunt moose. A charter costs around $200. Others might go by boat, a trip which might take two weeks.

Village life, in general, has changed during the years 1955-1969. No longer can one walk downtown and expect to know about almost everyone. The large number of agencies operating in Bethel, along with other job opportunities, increase the number of people who come and go, and the close relationships evident in a smaller village are no longer present in Bethel.

> Bethel's position as a regional headquarters for governmental activity has located a large amount of governmental employment in the community. In 1966, for example, the Department of Labor reported 422 governmental jobs in the Bethel Labor Area. Most of these jobs have gone to white people who moved to Bethel rather than to local natives. However, the Public Health Service Hospital is the largest single employer of natives in the region.[4]

In 1955, and for the next few years, Bethel's population did not include very many families coming in from outlying areas. The children in school had similar language problems.

In later years children in one class had varied language problems; those living in Bethel most of their lives had minor language difficulties. Those who had been living in Bethel for several years appeared, on the surface, to understand what was spoken, while those just arriving from areas where little English was spoken needed much more individualized attention. This problem still exists today. We also have children of F.A.A. and B.I.A. personnel in our classrooms. I do not feel this type of problem (varied in its extent) exists in the small village school. With such a large faculty operating in many

diverse areas, there is not the closeness among them which once existed.

Adequate housing has always been a problem in Bethel for all people. Prior to last year, teachers lived scattered all over town wherever housing was available. However, during the summer of 1968, ten trailers were erected directly behind the school, which became known among the occupants as "Tin City." Some of the teachers were fearful that perhaps the children would not visit as readily as they had previously. This is yet to be seen.

In the fall of 1969, a new cafeteria was constructed. A carpenters' strike during the summer slowed up this construction, but when in operation hot lunches will be available. Final plans on the amount to be charged, with provision for children not able to pay, have not been completed.

Many children bring lunches to school. Embarrassment is still present on the part of the native children who bring dried fish and pilot bread for their lunches, but never have I noticed ridicule from any of the other children.

Bethel has been a civic-minded community for many years. However, organizations such as Lion's Club, Women's Club, and Boy Scouts are usually staffed with a Caucasian at the head, with some of the native population holding offices.

Throughout the years one large problem has been the constant changing of white personnel due to employment moves, and along with these changes varying interests and abilities. One

year, for instance, Boy Scouts might have an exceptionally good program, only to have the personnel in charge move the following year, leaving the Boy Scout program without leadership for a year or two. This type of thing must be very confusing to the native mind.

The Village Council, whose seven members are elected by the voting population, has had one native mayor, an Indian who had moved in from another part of Alaska. However, there are some native people on the Council.

Various aspects of health have changed during the last fourteen years. Since 1955 the number of tuberculosis cases has diminished. Continual checking and medication has aided in this.

Bethel has just completed Phase One of an Otitis Media School Population Survey, which has provided each student with an extensive audio-exam. As a result of this exam, corrective surgery was undertaken for approximately 125 students.

In contrast to the rapid decline of tuberculosis is the distressing evidence of mental and emotional disorders. This seems to be attributed to the fact that emotional problems arise when the natives want to live like the Caucasians but really aren't able to do so.

The Public Health Service Hospital serves not only Bethel, but the surrounding villages as well. During the cold winter months people may come to the hospital on snowmobile, with

their dog team, or in a charter airplane. Soon after spring break-up, boats are used to transport people to the hospital.

Prior to spring break-up, many pregnant women come to Bethel to await the birth of their babies. Until a few years ago this had been a problem because these women had to be housed, sometimes for a month or longer. To help alleviate this condition, a pre-maternal home was opened in the middle sixties, financed by various agencies--the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEA), RuralCap, and the U.S. Public Health Hospital.

Drunkenness has been and still is a problem in Bethel. It is not an uncommon thing to have someone staggering in the street almost any hour of the day. Although, perhaps, we consider drunkenness a social problem, in a real way it is also a health problem since many times it is the cause of accidents which result in real disaster: "Twice as many people died as a result of accidents, suicides and alcholism in 1966 as in 1950 and there were three times as many deaths from homicide."[5.] This statement, however, could be misleading because we must also realize that the population also has increased during this period.

". . .The mental health of a people in transition is predictably poor, and this area is no exception."[6.] Such was a statement made concerning Bethel. On the surface this statement might seem inaccurate regarding Bethel, but as we observe several avenues involving transition, we might become more sensitive to what is really happening around us.

Increasingly so during the last ten years, the Natives of Bethel have been accepting western ways concerning marriages, dress, death, and entertainment.

Wedding dresses are often ordered from Anchorage or a mail-order house. Real flowers and other items necessary for a church wedding and reception are used. Other than home-made fur parkas, the natives have accepted western dress. They are exposed to such clothing through movies and people traveling through Bethel.

Practices concerning death have changed during the last fourteen years. During the late fifties, most caskets were made in Bethel of native lumber and lined with a white sheet. Bodies were usually kept in the home for a time of mourning. Artificial flowers were made or purchased at the local store.

Today, many of the natives who can afford to do so, purchase caskets from Anchorage when a relative dies. In recent years, the bodies have been kept in the hospital morgue prior to the burial service in church. Many times real flowers will be ordered from Anchorage to place around the coffin.

During the last year a Youth Center has been in operation, giving the youth a place to meet. Prior to this, the Cowan Hut was used for most local community activities. Before the new gymnasium was available in the National Guard building, the Cowan Hut was used for Bethel's favorite sport, basketball. When the Old Log School was used, the Cowan Hut was also used for the school's physical education program.

During 1968-69, the Lion's Club started a Leo's Club to help develop local leadership among the teenagers.

The V.F.W. building, built in the late fifties, has been used for a variety of purposes besides regular V.F.W. meetings. It replaced the Cowan Hut in this respect, for today the V.F.W. building is used for private parties, receptions, dinners and bingo.

Several activities have taken on real permanence in Bethel. Two of these are the July 4th activities and the Winter Carnival.

July 4th is a day packed full of activity. The big event of the day is the boat race which involves Natives from many of the surrounding areas. Money prizes are given. There is a parade followed by races and games for the children and young people. All sorts of goodies are sold including agutak and dried fish.

The Winter Carnival held in January has had its beginning since 1955. It, like the July 4th activities, encompasses many exciting events. Dog races are held for men, women and children. The men cover a distance of 25 miles per day, for three days. The trail goes upriver toward the village of Kwethluk. The winner of these races gets an expense free trip into Anchorage for himself and his dogs via Wien Consolidated to compete in the dog races during Fur Rendezvous time. A large money prize is also awarded the winner.

Change has been involved concerning the number of dog teams racing. The winter of 1968 there were approximately 25 or 30 dog teams competing. Two or three years ago there were

as many as 75-100 dog teams competing. Thus we see that the era of dog teams is disappearing and in their place snowmobiles are becoming very popular. Snowmobile races are also held, covering about five miles of some rather rugged terrain.

A dinner is held the last evening of the Carnival honoring the dog mushers. Eskimo dances are a real part of the Winter Carnival, too. Different villagers represented perform in their elaborate parkas, mukluks, and masks as they relate stories of the past.

The Winter Carnival has received increased publicity during the last few years. People have come from Anchorage on a charter to observe and participate in Bethel's Winter Carnival.

During the last few years, a Dog Mushers' Association has been formed, and when weather permits, races are held. This is just on the local level, but it does afford a time for socializing in the form of dinners and dances.

A seasonal activity with religious significance is Russian Christmas, which occurs early in January, seems to have grown in its importance. The people from Bethel either go to Kwethluk, about 20 miles upriver, or downriver about 6 miles to Napaskiak for the three days of celebration. Many of the high school pupils take these days off from school. There are some Russian Orthodox Natives living in Bethel, but as previously mentioned, there is no completed church building as yet: one is under construction.

Bethel is attempting to preserve much of the Native culture through its museum. Artifacts have been donated, and during this past year much effort has been directed toward collecting and cataloging items of the past.

Bethel is, indeed, even yet, going through a period of transition. During 1955-69, Bethel has experienced many changes: physical, economical, educational, and social. Now we need to stop in retrospect, and consider the results of these changes.

First, we realize that Bethel has taken on the mannerisms of a large town with heterogeneous grouping. There is an impersonal feeling among many of the people, not a closeness evident even fifteen years ago.

Secondly, the Eskimo is continuing to absorb more of the Caucasian culture because of his close association with him in many phases of his living. Machine-made items which make life easier and more enjoyable are readily accepted and taken for granted.

Thirdly, more specialization is evident in job opportunities because of the growing complexity of agencies at work in Bethel.

More of the youth continue to go on for futher schooling. Many have definite goals before them in the fields of nursing, electronics, teaching and other vocations.

Certain things will not change in the immediate future. Sanitation will continue to be a problem and honey buckets will be used for most of the population.

Because of the permafrost, wells are difficult and expensive to dig. Water, taken from a well owned by one man, will continue to be transported by the "water truck," and delivered into barrels or a more sophisticated water system. Some Eskimos will continue to haul their own water from the Kuskokwim River or surrounding lakes, since the cost of water is either two, three or four cents per gallon depending upon the amount consumed or the type of hook-up used.

But there also has been, during the years under consideration, a transition taking place that is not tangible, that is difficult to perceive and to comprehend thoroughly. It involves attitudes, outlooks, expectancies, and a broadening of one's horizons. It involves for all concerned, Eskimo and Caucasian living in Bethel, a look into one's self; an attempt to see what changes have occurred and then to proceed, attempting to see where each fits into the world he is in.

In Bethel today, much of the Eskimo culture is preserved and practiced, although on the surface this might not appear to be so. Herbs prescribed by medicine men of the past are still used today by the older generation. Fishing, hunting, and trapping will continue to be very important to the Eskimo.

When one gains the confidence of the Eskimo youth, incidents he relates show that, though perhaps he doesn't fully understand all that he remembers, he has faith in what his parents and grandparents have told him about the days gone by.

Much of the Eskimo culture has been retained. Acculturation has taken place, and hopefully the best of each way of life will obtain for a common good.

A TEACHER'S FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF BETHEL

Sue A. Cummings

Flying from Anchorage to Bethel, the first thing that the new arrival notices is the mountain range, the Kilbuck-Kuskokwim, but the majesty of the mountains soon is replaced by the flat tundra, which is laced with lakes and sloughs of the Kuskokwim River system. It is reminiscent of the lower Mississippi as it meanders its lazy way to Bristol Bay. The tiny villages and settlements along the river make it obvious that this is a riverine people. The closer one comes to arrival time, the more nervous the feelings. Why am I here? What do I know of these people who are so different culturally? Will I be a welcome or unwelcome member of the community? As the plane lands, there is the last minute desire to be back in familiar surroundings mingled with the feeling of adventure in being in an exotic, far-away place. Suddenly Georgia is five thousand miles away and Bethel is beneath the wheels of the plane.

The first days are filled with finding a place to live. Where else does a quonset with a water barrel and a honeybucket look so good? Water delivered in a truck into a fifty-five gallon drum, fuel oil delivered into waiting barrels, and an oil stove that is a source of both heat and cooking are commonplace. Housing is hard to find. Mr. Fancher scouts the town to get us all settled. I am lucky to be close to the school. As you walk downtown the fact that Bethel is not the small

Notes

1. Wendell H. Oswalt, Alaskan Eskimos. (San Francisco, 1967), p. 74

2. Draft Bethel Comprehensive Plan, Alaska State Housing Authority, Spring 1969. p. 14.

3. Ibid., p. 17

4. Ibid., p. 7.

5. Ibid., p. 9

6. Alaska Natives and the Land, Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska (Anchorage, 1968), p. 80.

Notes

1. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Report as reported in the 1965 Bethel Socio-Economic Report, Page 10/

2. United States Weather Bureau, 1931-1967 records.

3. H.D. Anderson & W.C. Eells, Alaska Natives, A survey of Their Sociological & Educational Status, Stanford U. Press New York 1935, p. 207.

4. Ibid., p. 407
5. City of Bethel Preliminary Comprehensive Plan, March 1968, Alaska State Housing Authority, pp. 6-7.
6. Ibid., p. 19
7. Ibid., p. 28
8. Ibid., pp. 56-62.
9. Bethel Comprehensive Plan (Draft), Alaska State Housing Authority, 1969, pp. 36-48.

village that you expected but a town is reflected in the two large stores owned by Northern Commercial and Swanson Brothers. Federal agencies have offices in town. There is a large Public Health Hospital and even a place called Mom's for hamburgers. The showhall is a big red barn which is filled to capacity almost every night. Also evident are the steambaths, the fish racks, the kuspuks worn by older women. Planes are everywhere and boats skim the river. People on the street recognize that you are a new teacher and smile and say hello. For a person who has lived in a large city, this is a welcome change.

The first day of school finaliy arrives and the yearly questions of how large are the classes, what subjects will I teach, will I be able to teach in such a different situation, will they like me, will I like them, and do I have enough understanding to function in such a different environment are silently asked. The first day is minor chaos. I am assigned the senior class to sit with while schedules are being checked. As they look at me, I wonder what they see. I see a group of young men and women, neatly dressed and quiet. A boy leaves the room without permission, and in my best schoolteacher voice I ask if this is common practice. The class looks at me. The first days with my classes I feel as if there is a curtain drawn between us. The quiet is dismaying as I tell them the requirements and ask for suggestions. The first impressions are that the students of high school age are mature, self-disciplined people. What I realize is that this is a quiet, mature face reserved

for new teachers. My classes are rather loosely organized and from the first, students work in groups and discussion is encouraged. The process of getting to know the students begins in earnest.

At the same time I am getting to know the teachers. Some are admirable others I heartily dislike. The teachers of the school form their own small society; parties and visits are frequent. I feel apart from the adults of the town; there is little contact between the school and the adults of the community.

Slowly the kids begin to visit. We talk a little and consume gallons of kool-aid. Family relationships begin to become clear. Sally is Janet's cousin; James and John are brothers, and the reason that they don't look alike is that one is adopted. When asked where their families are from, the answers read like a map of the Kuskokwim area. The teacher is in contact with her students almost all the time; this is one bit of change from the city-school background and a very pleasant one. The first impressions of maturity slip away as you realize that the experiential background is entirely different from your own.

The question that I ask everyday of "when is the snow coming?" brings a discussion of the fact that I have never seen a river frozen over, nor snow that stayed for months on the ground. We discuss the differences between the culture of the Southeastern Inited States and the culture of Bethel. We soon decide that the teacher has a lot to learn. After the snow, the passage of time

seems to accelerate and Christmas holidays seem to follow Halloween. My classes have personalities; the tenth grade is responsive and will try anything once, the eleventh is the studious group, and the twelfth is such a conglomeration that I am at a loss to know what to do. We have a city councilman in our twelfth grade and the class has on record a position paper supporting three of the candidates for the council in the elections.

The most striking change in the relationship with the high school students comes after the Christmas vacation. A polite attitude is replaced by a joking relationship which seems to occur overnight. I begin to find out what my students think of the destruction of their culture. In a debate one morning over the riots in the Northern cities, one of the FAA boys says that the government should put all the Negroes on a reservation. The comment by one of the boys is "Yes, and they would like to do that to the Eskimos too!" The housing furnished at low cost by the federal government and put outside town is referred to as the reservation. The Roughrock School established by the Navaho is considered a bad idea because it segregates the Navaho from the white culture. Segregation into a separate society may be the favorite idea of militants, but students seem to favor the adoption of those things in the dominant culture which make life easier, while retaining those values from the Eskimo culture which define their roles as Eskimos. Land Claims is another favorite topic.

After Christmas, the frequent question is whether I will return to Bethel the next year. In March I go to a guidance conference in Fairbanks and am gone for a week. When I return one boy says half in jest that he is surprised that I returned after being "outside" again. In April we are visited by a research team from San Francisco State College, and as a result of their inquiry and the interest of the superintendent we begin to discuss the idea of an Eskimo Culture course with townspeople as teachers.

As the end of the year approaches, we have the Junior-Senior Prom and graduation. I feel proud of each senior. Twelve of the thirty-four will enter college this fall. Others will enter the Army and still others will continue technical training.

Perhaps the truest idea of the feeling that we share in class can be shown by a short anecdote. One week in the middle of the year, we began a unit on Viet-Nam. Since several of the students have relatives in the National Guard, I decided (for balance) to read an article which describes the reaction of the Vietnamese people to the tall round-eyed, white-skinned invader. I asked the class what their reaction would be to such a stranger--a tall, round-eyed gussuk. Suddenly the class simply broke up. You see, the stranger had come to their village and the reaction of the class triggered a response in me. I was the stranger, and they had accepted me. It is so easy for the individual to operate

on a person-to-person basis and forget the differences in culture. The fact that the class could laugh and feel that I would understand their laughter was the best unspoken compliment that I had all year.

I will go back to Bethel next year, not because I am a gussuk with all the answers, but because I feel that it has been the most rewarding teaching situation that I have known. Next year will be exciting and -for all of us, I hope--profitable.

The Russian American Company, with trade as its purpose, came to Bristol Bay area in the early nineteenth century. The first record of contact with the natives of the Kuskokwim is found in the diary of a priest, Juvenal. He records visitors from the Kuskokwim who had obviously been in contact with the Russians before 1796, the date of his entry, because they made the sign of the cross. (Oswalt, 1963; p. 9) The first trading post in the area was established on the Nushagak River. It was named Alexander Redoubt and was managed by a creole named Kolmakov. Kolmakov is mentioned in subsequent explorative expeditions on the Kuskokwim. There were two expeditions, one under Etolin in 1821 and another under Vasilev in 1829, which attempted to explore the Kuskokwim area. Both failed to accomplish more than a cursory examination of the mouth of the river. In 1832 a trading center was established at the junction of the Holitna and Kuskokwim rivers. In 1833 a third station was built at the junction of the Kwik and Kuskokwim. In 1834, Gluzanov attempted to explore the upper Kuskokwim but his attempt ended in failure. The last of the stations built on the Kuskokwim was built across the river from the one on the Kwik. It was named Kolmakov Redoubt in honor of the man who had been instrumental in the establishment of the forts or redoubts in the Kuskokwim area. (Oswalt, 1963; pp. 5-13)

Perhaps the best description of the people found along the Yukon-Kuskokwim drainage is furnished by Zagoskin, a Lieutenant in the Russian Navy. Zagoskin travelled the area from 1842 to

1844. "The Yukon and Kuskokwim people are of medium stature. Women are round and fairly plump of face; their bodies are rather stout. On the Kuskokwim and Yukon the women stitch two blue lines on their chins. Through a slit in the nasal cartilage they wear blue glass beads, in an opening under the lower lip they insert a labret..." (Michael, 1967; p. 211)

In 1867, the sale of Alaska to the United States ended the period of Russian trade and exploration. It did not end the influence of the Orthodox Church, nor the creole descendants of the Russian traders and trappers. The Russian American Company was replaced by Hutchinson, Kohl and Company as the trading company for the Alaskan area. (Oswalt, 1963; p. 16) From 1867 to 1884, the Kuskokwim area was ignored except as an area of trade. The material parts of the western world's culture were continually available to the Eskimo through the trading company. The opening of the Kuskokwim to the spiritual and social aspects of "gussuk" culture began after Sheldon Jackson, a special federal agent for education in Alaska became concerned with the "degeneracy and decay" which he found there. (Oswalt, 1963; p. 16)

In 1884. Jackson delivered a lecture in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, at which he aroused the interest of William Henry Weinland, a student at the Moravian College and Theological Seminary. (Oswalt, 1963; p. 17) Weinland and Henry Hartmann set out for the Kuskokwim in April, 1884 to see if the area was fruitful for the spreading of the gospel. Their report was favorable and the following year five missionaries went North. "They were William

Weinland his bride Carolyn, John Henry Kilbuck and his bride Edith, and Hans Torgerson." (Oswalt, 1963; p. 22)

Bethel is located about one hundred and twenty miles from the mouth of the Kiskokwim River. It has a population of over two thousand of whom two-thirds are Eskimo. The people of Bethel are divided into four major groups. These are upriver, downriver, coastal and tundra. There are two additional divisions to the population when the FAA-BIA complex and the teachers are added. There are three areas in which the people live; these are the downtown area, across the slough (Lousetown), and the new housing project. The major area that is designated downtown included all the major stores and businesses, the school complex and many of the federal agencies. Lousetown has no reason for its name that can be seen. At first one might think that it is the poorer section of the town but several of the most prosperous families live there (Hoffman, the owner of the fuel company, Linds, and Samuelson who owns a flying service). Perhaps the closeness of the slough for unloading barrels of oil or for landing planes has something to do with the location of families across the slough. The third division is the federally financed low-cost housing. It is located on the back of the slough near the proposed site of the regional high school that is projected for Bethel in 1972.

Bethel has had a great deal of trouble over the placement of the housing, the question land ownership as well as house ownership and the question of what is to be done with the old housing

that the people were living in. The houses are essentially one room affairs with alcoves containing bunk bed type of sleeping spaces. The lack of storage space and oddly enough the lack of privacy are two of the most frequently heard complaints. Though the Eskimo may have been living in a one-room dwelling pre-contact, the high school student bemoans the lack of privacy today.

The housing has had an effect on the economy of Bethel, money paid in salaries to men hired to build the housing is a long range contributor to the economy since houses are to be sold to people in villages up river and after being constructed in Bethel are to be sent by barge to the villages.

Bethel is a fourth class city and its government is a Mayor-Council composed of six members. The mayor is chosen by the council from its members. Of the members of the council three are native they are Eddie Hoffman, owner of the fuel service, Noah Jack, a high school student who will be entering college this fall, and Jean Peltola, an employee of the Northern Commercial Company. The three remaining members of the council are Dave Swanson, part owner of Swanson Brothers (a general store), Art Nicholson, owner of the only well in town and Bruce Crow, manager of the Fisherman's Co-operative. The most powerful members of the council are Nicholson and Swanson. Nicholson sells his water for four cents a gallon and is well to do. Swanson of Swanson Brothers has projected a hotel and bar for Bethel. This will be quite a change since Bethel has no bar and

the profits from the liquor store are presently used as a source of revenue by the town.

The clubs in town include Lions, Women's Club, and VFW. As far as I can tell these clubs seem to be gussuk organizations with little Native membership. There are five churches in town, and though there is no Orthodox Church a priest passes through Bethel sporadically. The churches include Moravian, Catholic, Baptist, Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventist. The Moravian pastor, The Rev. Albrite, is a native man from Kwigillingok. The Catholic priest, Father Gurr, is rather liberal in that he will permit women who take birth control pills to take communion. The Rev. Owens, the Baptist pastor, is an enigma. The Rev. Gamble, the Pentecostal minister, is a recognized authority on adult education.

The Public Health Hospital in Bethel serves the entire Southwestern part of Alaska. Anything which is serious is referred to the hospital in Anchorage and recently the OB ward was closed and all the women coming in sent to Anchorage because of staph infection. Bethel was the hospital where all of the women from southwestern came to have their babies. There is even a pre-maternal home operated by the city.

In conclusion, the diversity of Bethel makes it impossible to treat the subject fairly in a paper. Given a year and a class to help gather information, I hope to do a more adequate job of presenting Bethel and the surrounding Kuskokwim River area to my students.

CHIGNIK

LIFE AT CHIGNIK
Trudy Carlson

Chignik is located on the Alaskan Peninsula. The population is about150, maybe a bit more during the summer, and a lot less during the winter months.

During the summer the cannery is in operation processing fish. Alaska Packers Association operate the cannery and has a General Store there also. Alaska Packers brings all sorts of workers up for the summer months: a doctor, carpenters, machinist, office workers, like bookkeepers, file clerks and foremen. The superintendent gives the orders on how it's supposed to be operated. The cannery has a power plant that gives electricity to all the bunkhouses and through the dock and about half of the homes. The homes that do not get electricity from the cannery have their own power plants.

There are two churches in Chignik Bay. One is Russian Orthodox, which is very old. Services are held there only when the priest comes through from Kodiak. It is also open for services if someone has passed away. But, it is usually closed. Then, there's the Church of Christ. Services are held there every Sunday.

The preachers have all kinds of things going for the kids. They might have class for the little kids on Saturdays and have them make all kinds of stuff. On Thursday evening they'll have class for the bigger kids. During the summer for two weeks they have some sort of Bible class for all the children. On Wednesday

night they have prayer meetings open to anyone. Usually the women get together some evening during the week and have what they call sewing classes.

Lasp spring a new B.I.A. school was built. The B.I.A. employed local men from the community and only brought in about seven B.I.A. workers. It's supposed to be a one-room school. The teachers' quarters are connected all in the same building. The school will have its own power plant, as did the old one. The new school replaces an old one that was shaky and too small. The school had a woman teacher for the first time last fall. The people were wondering how she would make out through the winter. She made it just fine and is coming back again this winter. When I came up from Nebraska last December for Christmas and then decided to stay, she asked me if I'd like to help her a couple of hours a day with the kids. I said I would.

The theater is operated and owned by my father. In the summer there are movies just about every night, and we have a full house. But in the winter there's a movie every Friday night. I also work at the theater. My dad and I are kept busy taking in the show money plus selling pop and candy. When my dad is especially busy, I get my cousin to help me behind the counter. Usually in the summer too we have two movies a night. The first one starts at 7:00 p.m. and it's so full that we have to turn down people and run a 9:15 p.m. movie so everyone can be entertained. Movies are about the only entertainment we have. There

are no bars, cafe, or hotels. The weather makes daily flights uncertain, but practically every day a plane comes in with freight for Alaska Packers. Mail comes in twice a week. The airstrip for the small planes was completed this spring. My fourteen-year old brother also took part in working on it. When the mail comes everybody knows about it so they just go to the post office. Because it has no mail boxes, the postmaster calls names.

Large pieces of freight like furniture come in on the ships that come about twice every other month in summer. The Western Pioneer is the one which makes the most stops at Chignik. The people order fresh vegetables and meats which don't come in on a plane. The A.P.A. store also gets its supply in from the ships.

Hunting is done only when in season. Nobody necessarily lives off what they've hunted. Diet is mixed. Seal is rarely eaten. Moose, caribou, and salmon are eaten with frozen and canned foods from the store.

As of yet Chignik still does not have telephones or television. But of course it has radios, and stereo sets.

The only time people work is during the summer when they go fishing and when the ships come in. Work is very hard to find during the winter. My father goes crabbing during the winter because he has a large boat. He's the only one who has two fishing vessels. Almost everyone has a boat for salmon fishing. Of course the families who can't find jobs get welfare checks. When the summer season is over, at least ten families pack up

and move to Kodiak. Many people go back and forth from Chignik to Kodiak for jobs and for schooling at the secondary level.

Chignik doesn't have any trees, but once a geologist who came through said that a long time ago we might have had trees. Now it doesn't because of volcanic ash.

The only sports are swimming in summer and skating in winter.

EMMONAK

A HISTORY CF EMMONAK

Nicholas W. Benedict

The first section of this report is formed from the stories and facts that many of the older people at home often recall, but first I would like to begin by giving the general background of the old locals and the means of living in the respective areas. Many of the people in the Lower Yukon District shared a common way of living in the earlier days so the first part of this report will practically cover for all of the villages in the Lower Yukon as well as Emmonak. Practically and maybe surprisingly enough, many of the villages in the Lower Yukon now are fairly recent newly set-up locals except for Alakanuk.

I'm going to begin now with some of the old locals around the area. The first one is Kipnayaguk, better known as Black River and its old neighboring villages Bastulik and New Knok Hock, which in Native means the first settlement or the first place. Other old locals are Akulurak, Old Hamilton, New Hamilton, Chaneliak, Bugomawick and, further up the river, Kusgokfuk and Fish Village.

Life among the Natives at the time these old villages existed was fairly simple, but before I go on I would like to go even further back and discover some more where many of the people from these various old villages originated from. Most of the people from the New Knok Hock area are said to have originated from the Scammon Bay area, although along with them came some nomads, too: in fact, no matter who started a new

settlement and no matter where he settled there was always a nomad to settle with him. The people from around Chaneliak more than likely came from up North from St. Michaels and Unalakleet, because up to this day it reflects in their language, although they now speak the Yupik. The people from Bugomawick, Old Hamilton, and Kusgokfuk are said to have originated from the Upper Yukon, mainly Russian Mission and Paimiut.

Natives mainly lived to survive. In the winter the Natives lived in groups and often separated in the spring. In the spring each family moved to his own respective fish camp by means of a skin boat or a small sturdy raft and there the summer was spent drying and smoking fish and storing them away in seal skin containers much of the berry picking was also done at this time also. In the latter part of August and in September, taking with them the amount they will need to last them through the fall and leaving the rest, they moved on to their fall camp, which is usually a little log house covered with soil on the top. Oftentimes the soil was applied so thickly that the grass and the other surrounding plants grew on it. September was spent in the fall camp mainly to prepare for the three months of trapping ahead. Soon as the rivers and lakes were solid enough for travel, the man started out to set his traps and small fish traps. At this time there were also the large fish traps back in the village to be attended to. Several men from a village who had gotten together to build such a trap would gather at such and such a time and go to the village to set the large trap in the

river to catch sheefish, pike and other kinds. To be able to lure fish to the trap, most generally the river had to be blocked. These blockades were made from straight poles or willows sewn together on a solid wood frame. On all of his trips, a man was always on the lookout for any useful object such as a straight pole or softwood and birch that he could use to make fish traps or snowshoes.

Later towards the end of December, when trapping came to a temporary halt, families returned to the villages. There they spent the remainder of the month and January preparing for a potlatch. Potlatch festivities were held mainly to remember those long dead and in remembrance of relatives who had passed away. Potlatch festivities lasted from February until late in the spring, but they were staged in three parts. Although festivities lasted that long they were not all potlatch festivities. People had to continue to hunt and make trips at times to their fall camps to check the traps they had left behind and to get some provisions they had left that summer from their fish camps. After the break-up in the spring the cycle was repeated all over again. Moving and relocating of most villages depended mostly upon the game. Wherever there was the most game, there the people moved, but if they moved they did not pick-up and move all at one time. Rather they always moved gradually family by family. But nomads perhaps moved on elsewhere to another village. To my knowledge the part they played was good, for always they brought with them some aspect of culture to offer to

wherever they had decided to go while they themselves sought to gain something new. The first significant changes in the lives of the Natives in the Lower Yukon occurred when the Russians first appeared. There were some marriages and later some language terms and trades adopted but other than that there was very little influence, because the Russians did not set up any Outposts or prominent settlements except further up the Yukon, starting around Andrefski, now Saint Marys, and on up to Russian Mission, which is almost totally Orthodox. A few that stayed or remained in the Lower Yukon villages adapted themselves to the ways of the Natives. Life was pretty much the same throughout until missionaries later reached the area after the Alaska Purchase and the rush for gold. A Catholic mission was established at Alulurak and Nuns, to be more specific, Ursuline Nuns were brought in from Pilgrim Springs to teach at the mission schools. Not long after that herds of reindeer were brought in by the Government--another change incorporated into the lives of the Natives on the Lower Yukon.

Of the Government herd, the mission at Akulurak owned a share. Up to this time things were still progressing at a slow pace: many of the people were still keeping to their old practices, and medicine men were still playing their major roles in the various village societies. The one really significant development that really shook the area and brought people to an awareness to the outside world happened in 1941-42. Eligible men were recruited and drafted to serve their country. A

military post was installed in Akulurak, but soon after 1942 the army moved out and left the post to be used by the mission. The years 1941-42 were a gateway to politics. General MacArthur became one of the topics for the politically-minded conversationalist. In the meantime, among the outlying villages life was still pretty much the same except that by this time the village of Bastulik was in the process of moving to what is now Sheldons Point, because the Northern Commercial Company was setting up a new store there. Many things at this time were starting to pop up here and there. People started moving around more with the outboard motors being introduced and commercial fishing becoming more centralized in Kwiguk and Alakanuk. Every summer thereafter people from all of the nearby villages and even Saint Michaels started gathering in this area to fish commercially and later for themselves in July and August.

Fall camps and village life in the winter still had their own common characteristics up to 1949. Many of the old customs and superstitions among the people were still firmly in their beliefs, although by this time they had all practically adopted the Catholic belief. In 1949, the mission in Akulurak was also being relocated up to what is now Saint Marys. Many residents from Akulurak also moved up to the new mission that year. Only a few stayed but within a couple of years they also moved to the other villages that were nearby.

Newknokhock had also moved to the village in the Black River, but remained only two or three years in that village

because people from Black River were beginning to find living in that area difficult due to the changing stream channel of the river. These families moved to several different villages, some to Sheldons Point, some to Alakanuk and others to Emmonak. From this migration developed the village of Emmonak. About the same time people from Cheneliah, Hamilton, and Kusgokfuk began moving into Emmonak. As the village grew in size and population, the people realized that a school was necessary. The first school set up there was built by the community. It consisted of one classroom. Mabel Johnson, the store manager's daughter, was the teacher. The very next year, two Native teachers came to the village and taught for at least a year. In 1956 the BIA built a one-room classroom. It has expanded to a four-room school.

There are 450 residents in the village now, the majority of which are of Eskimo descent. The only non-Natives are the school personnel, air plane pilot, and village priest. During the summer months most of the people go to fish camps scattered throughout the delta. The people are friendly, have good relations with the school teachers, and are interested in the welfare of their children.

Recently Emmonak became a 4th class city with a mayor-council type of government. Their main source of income is from commercial salmon fishing. Fish are sold to near-by canneries, to a salting operation located in Emmonak, and to two freezer

ship companies. The N. C. has a store in Emmonak. Produce purchased at the store is very expensive. There is a local National Guard unit. Native houses vary in size from one to two rooms and most of them are of log construction.

Emmonak is about 175 air miles northwest of Bethel. It is located on the Kwiguk Pass which is one of the many branches of the Yukon Delta. It is about six miles from the Bering Sea. The land is flat tundra and muskeg with many small lakes and sloughs and is covered with alders and willows. Temperatures range from 75° in the summer to -40° in the winter. The rainy season is in August and September. Snowfall is comparatively light, although there may be four or five foot drifts around the buildings.

Air transportation is available the year round except for a period of two or three weeks at the time of fall freeze-up and spring break-up. Emmonak has a post office with mail being delivered three times a week. The river is used by planes equipped with floats in the summer and skis during the winter. The BIA furnishes a short-wave radio for official business.

The U.S. Public Health Service operates a Native hospital at Bethel. This takes care of emergencies from other villages. A PHS nurse visits the village three or four times a year, and a doctor, dentist and an x-ray team attempt to call yearly. A Native medical aide handles ordinary medical needs. She can keep in contact with Bethel by radio.

The village is predominantly Roman Catholic. The local Church is beautiful and is served by a priest who divides his time among three villages. There is also a Baptist mission served by a resident lay minister.

MOUNTAIN VILLAGE

MOUNTAIN VILLAGE: A SURVEY

Margaret Andrewyuk

Mountain Village is situated on the banks of the lower Yukon River. There are hills behind the village. Berries of all kinds are abundant. The population is about 400.

There is a B.I.A. operated school and four teachers, teaching grades one through eight. Also, there are three Head Start teachers. I am the head teacher for Head Start. Sheppard Trading has five stores in different villages--St. Marys, Pilot Station, Alakanuk, Chevak, and Mountain Village. The owner of the store lives in the village. The post office is located in the corner of the store. Instead of mailboxes we have mail calls on mail days.

The air strip is on a hill right above the store. Planes come in on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday with mail, freight, and passengers. But otherwise we have almost all kinds of planes coming in every day with pontoon planes landing in the river and wheeled planes landing on the air strip.

There are two churches of different sects. One is Catholic and the other is Covenant. The new Covenant Church was built in 1968. The old Covenant building is used as a storage annex to the new building. The Catholic Church was also built recently. The old church building is used as a library.

There is a community hall where Head Start is held Monday through Friday from nine to three. The children come in shifts. The four-year olds come in the morning and the five-year-olds

in the afternoon. Actually, the five-year-olds come in at 11:30 a.m. and the whole group lunches together.

The community hall is used for recreation also. There are three rooms. One is a storage room for food and material and toys that the children are not using. It is also used as a shop where men bring in their snow machines and do repair work after the children have gone home. A second room is a classroom for adult education in the evenings about twice a week. The kitchen is used as an evening meeting place for the councilmen.

A movie theater owned by the Sheppards has movies every Friday. The admittance for adults is one dollar. School kids come in free. The Sheppard children sell popcorn and pop during the movies. The theater is good-sized but during the summer there just is not enough room to hold all the people so the first show is at seven and the next one is held at nine-thirty. The village is "alive" in the summer with all the Cannery Employees from the other villages, and the high school kids are home then.

The armory is used by the National Guardsmen.

A guest house is very cute and cozy. It was built in 1968 for out-of-village guests who come on business or sightseeing. Not that there is much to see: You can see the village in just about five minutes. In fact, from the airstrip one can just about take in the whole village.

There are two cemeteries. A few years ago the young people of the village cleared the one on the hillslope of willows and shrubs that were growing there. The other one is on a hill also,

but it is in the middle part of the village.

There are a number of fresh water springs in and around the village and all are safe with the exception of one that is shallow.

The cannery is in full swing every summer with people coming to work from neighboring villages like St. Marys, Pilot Station, Pitkas Point, and Marshall. Girls come in as far away as Nome and Sitka to work in the cannery there. It processes King Salmon and a little dog Salmon. There are Butchers, slimers, patchers, fillers, packers (or casers), retort operator, canshop workers, reformers, mechanics and nightwatchmen, and fish collectors. And of course there must be fishermen to get the fish to can.

Probably the major attraction of the village is the "Earth Rammed" house. The walls are made of dirt packed very tightly. The roof is made of boards and sheet metal. There is another one, but it is used for cold storage. It is bigger and longer than the one a family is living in. The walls of both buildings are three feet wide. The family staying in the dirt house say it is warm in the winter.

For the youth of Mountain Village there are 4-H club, Teen Club, and Young People's group, formed by the Covenant Church.

For the women of the village there is a women's club. They give instructions in first aide and sewing. They hold bake sales in order to help out families needing money in emergencies and to buy medicine for the village.

The village has a five-member council. Now there is a woman member in that group, whereas in the previous year it was made up of all men.

Annual Dog Races are a big event for the village. Dog races, snow machine races and foot races are held with a large number of people participating. People come from other villages to attend that event. Come evening there are games, skits, and contests.

There is no television in Mountain Village, but there are radios, stereo and hi-fi sets. There is no running water or sewer system. The only buildings with all the modern facilities are the school, teachers' apartments, the store and the Sheppard homes. As for electricity, there are several homes who own private power plants. The store and the cannery each have separate plants. The Sheppard family gets theirs from the store's power plant.

There are a couple of jeeps in the village. One is owned by the Sheppards and the other by the B.I.A. janitor. There are a lot of snow machines in the village of all makes and size. The Cats do the plowing of the snow and leveling of the ground for home sites. The road runs the length of the village and on up to the airstrip.

There are two medical aides in the village that take sick calls all hours of the day and night. They make daily calls in to the hospital at Bethel and ask for advice when they think an illness is beyond their medical competence.

ST. MARYS

THE CITY OF ST. MARYS

Sister Mary James McLaughlin

I. Early History

The earliest recorded information concerning the area which is now occupied by the city of St. Marys dates back to 1842. During an exploratory expedition to obtain trade and scientific information for the Russian-American Company, Navy Lt. L. A. Zagoskin, in Travels in Russian America, describes the St. Marys area: "On the right are 30 foot cliffs of loam overgrown with red rasberry bushes. The soil seems perfectly adaptable to the development of large vegetable gardens; the flat sandy and gravel plain 3 miles below is heaped with driftwood, a tribute from the Upper Yukon. Because of the facility of finding food in this area, and because of the ease of communications with the coast and with all the branches of the Yukon, I consider this to be the best place for establishing a permanent settlement." (p. 278)

This description fits the present village of Pitkas Point which is located approximately four miles down the Yukon River from the mouth of the Andreafsky River.

In about 1844 Zagoskin reported that a man by the name of Nazarov travelled up the Andreafsky River and continued overland to St. Michael. Nazarov's trip is significant because it verifies the possible future location of a highway from St. Marys to St. Michael. Some of the Natives have gone up the Andreafsky River and crossed the mountains, probably at Stevens Pass, and have in

this manner reached St. Michael. Zagoskin's recommendations for establishing a base of operations at Andreafsky (St. Marys) were favorably received and Fort Andreafsky was founded in 1853. The fort is located about one mile up the Andreafsky River along the west bank. Fort Andreafsky included buildings for quarters, stores, and warehouses. The buildings were arranged so that a stockade type enclosure was formed.

In 1855 Fort Andreafsky was the scene of tragedy. There was formerly an Ekomut village near the fort. No trouble had ever occurred; friendly relations had existed. At a time when most of the Russians had gone for winter supplies, the fort was attacked and all were killed except one Creole who had the good fortune to escape and find his way to St. Michaels. The Russians, who had been eager for an excuse to attack the natives and avenge other killings as well as this one, set off for Fort Andreafsky. No one was spared.

By 1867 Russian trade in the lower Yukon had ceased and the purchase of Alaska by the United States ended the period of Russian occupation. However, Russian influence in the area still exists in the name of villages and in the Eskimo-Russian heritage of some of the people. The influence of the Russian Orthodox Church still exists in a minor way. Their introduction of Christianity to the people contributed much toward the present day acceptance of the Christian way of life. The Catholic Church has provided continuous Christian activities since the phase-out of the Russian Orthodox influence.

Gold! The date 1897 marked the Klondike Gold discovery in the Yukon Territory of Canada. The first routes to the gold fields were from the ports of Skagway and Valdez. Both of these routes were over difficult mountain terrain and by treacherous rivers. Easier and safer routes were sought. It was determined that the Yukon River could be navigated with power boats. Thus an alternate route was realized and passengers, equipment and supplies could be shipped by steamboat. A bustling river steamboat construction industry developed at St. Michael. The Yukon River was covered with shipping activity and Andreafsky (St. Marys) was destined to become one of the most important points on the Yukon River shipping route. This was because of its advantageous topographical features. The water of the Yukon is loaded with a yellow silt, the water of the Andreafsky is crystal clear. The steamboat operators also found that approximately one month's time could be saved by using St. Marys as a point of embarkation in the spring. The Yukon River at St. Marys is clear of ice from three to four weeks before the mouth of the river is open. The Andreafsky River at St. Marys provides safe winter mooring for steamboats. Its water level starts receding in September. Loaded boats from St. Michael can travel as far as St. Marys and anchor for the winter. As the river level continues to drop the boats are left in a high and dry position. Soft river bottom provides a protective bedding for the boats and once the water has gone down the boats are free from ice damage. Furthermore the river current at St. Marys is scarcely detectable. Thus normally break-up is peaceful and quiet. The

river level gently rises and the moored boats once again become water borne.

The mooring of freighters, fishing vessels and barges at St. Marys oontinues even today. Both American and Japanese boats anchor here during the winter months and are ready to go out with the break-up to meet the on-coming runs of king salmon... the gold of the lower Yukon!

Several gold strikes along the Yukon River caused the Yukon shipping to flourish and grow. But this growth was shortlived. In 1900 the White Pass and Yukon Railroad was completed. St. Marys was again a Native village. Numerous steamboats used in the Yukon trade were left at St. Marys to either rot or be carried off in pieces. Even today all kinds of parts of old abandoned steamboats can be found on the river beaches around St. Marys.

From aerial photographs one can discern the outlines of the buildings which made up Chinatown. Chinatown represents the racial segregation of the Chinese workers from other people employed in the river trade..

II. The Founding and Growth of St. Mary's Mission

Old St. Mary's Mission, Akulurak, was the first permanent tundra mission founded by the Jesuit priests. The first site to be picked was on the Kenilik River. Because of high water during break-up it was moved to a high bank on the Akulurak Slough.

The first official census of that district was made by Father Treca in 1893. It listed about 1600 persons. The district took in the whole of the Yukon Delta.

The main object of the new mission was to provide an orphanage and school. Father Treca began his mission with four Ursuline Sisters from Ohio. The fate of the mission was touch-and-go. Practically everything that was needed to run a mission was lacking. In 1902 the lower Yukon area was threatendd with extinction due to an epidemic of smallpox, and again in 1917-1918 the ravages of the flu made it necessary to carry on the orphanage despite obstacles and hardships.

Akulurak Mission's main purpose was an orphanage for girls which would provide salvation for human life. Girl babies at that time were considered to be of low value by Eskimo tradition and were sometimes abandoned. As the girls grew older there was a school provided for them. As funds were practically non-existent the education consisted in learning the English language and a few of the fundamentals of reading and arithmetic. The Sisters learned how to tan skins, to sew and cut parkas, mittens and mukluks. These skills they taught to the girls.

Occasionally Eskimo families would bring boys to the school and leave them in order to relieve family hardships. The growing

orphanage caused the formation of a village where a neasure of spiritual and social security could be realized by the Eskimo.

The number of mouths to feed at Akulurak grew to approximately 200 and caused a shortage of food. The entire area was exploited for its food and wood supply. Imported supplies became more costly and harder to obtain. Frequent floods endangered the mission. Frost action in the ground kept the building in a constant state of deterioration, and the possibility of being washed away was an annual spring and summer problem. The lack of fresh waterwas perhaps one of the most pressing problems to be considered. Taking all these things into consideration it was determined necessary to move to a new and better location. Therefore in 1951 everything that was movable was transferred to the present site of St. Marys. For the third time in the history of the present City of St. Marys the topographical features of the area provided the prime attraction for a new settlement. The settlement was called New Andreafsky. Later it became known as St. Marys Post Office, Alaska.

This new location of the Mission provided fresh water, Yukon driftwood, trees, berries, fish and other necessities for living. In addition the site offered a protective harbor which was only a short distance from the Yukon River. Attractive building sites with excellent foundation conditions were also found. The high ground provided protection from floods and the fractured bedrock was found to be easy to excavate.

The Catholic Bishop of Northern Alaska patented 320 acres of land on the north bank of the river. (This land, except that

on which the mission proper is located, was sold for a token fee to St. Marys Village when it became a second class city.) The mission was then constructed.

When the mission moved to the new location the families living in and around Akulurak moved with it. The orphanage changed to a boarding school which grew from a grade school to a four-year high school.

III. Education and Health

While the mission was at Akulurak the facilities were so inadequate that it was impossible for the Sisters to give the students more than an elementary education. When the boys were old enough to work with their fathers they were sent home. If they were orphans they worked at the mission until they were ready to go out on their own or to get married. Most of the girls stayed at the school until they were married. They learned to sew, mend, cook, do bead work, and to cut and dry fish. They were also instructed in personal hygiene and house cleaning.

The buildings at St. Marys on the Andreafsky provided rooms for class rooms. Qualified teachers were sent to Alaska and a more formal brand of education was introduced. The building which is so crowded today was a palace to the missionaries who had worked under such primitive conditions for so many years. It was a proud day for all when in 1959 five students were graduated from St. Mary's High School.

During the past ten years educational standards have skyrocketed and again St. Mary's is faced with the problem of up-

dating. A possible and probable solution is to turn St. Mary's private school into a state institution. The details of this transaction will require careful study and planning.

The school facilities at present include a city-operated kindergarten and an elementary and high school which is privately operated and known as St. Mary's School. The school enrollment 1968-1969 was 235. About 50 percent of these children were from St. Marys, and the other 50 percent from surrounding areas along the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers. St. Mary's school is a private school conducting certain public school functions under contractual arrangements with St. Marys city school board. St. Marys without an apostrophe is the name of the Post Office. St. Mary's is the correct spelling for the school.) The school board is a public school supervisory body whose members are elected under the terms of state law for cities of the second class in Alaska.

Three years ago application was made for funds under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to provide an enrichment program for culturally distinctive students of this area. The petition stated three basic needs of the people of this area.

> First is a generally higher level of education. The U.S. Department of Labor statistics show that the existing education achievement is only 2.1
>
> The second basic need is a broader economic opportunity through development of natural resources. This means the development of ideas and the use of skills which must come from the education process.

The third basic need is perhaps higher in rank than the other two. It is a means for retaining cultural ties. Of these, family ties are the strongest and most important. Evidence of the people's regard for this need need is the insistence of many parents on at least some children in the family staying at home in order to preserve the integrity of the family even to the sacrifice of educational opportunities. Another reason is wanting to preserve the elements of their basic ethnic culture. Parents at the same time recognize that a need exists to broaden horizons so that the first two needs can be fulfilled.

There is a need for basic identity among the children of the rural, isolated areas. The parents of this community recognize this need and have joined together to aid in this program for their children. Parents of other communities join, too, in the cultural aspects of the program. The children will be able to share their knowledge with the whole region.

There is no racial discrimination in this area, but there is a great cultural deprivation. To a great extent this is caused by geographical isolation. There are no roads, railroads, or other normal surface means of physical communication or transportation. Due to long years of isolation there is little or no knowledge of American culture as found in the urban areas, particularly that of the lower 48. This isolation makes it most difficult for the graduating senior to put the education he has gained to practical use. The students are aware of the need to learn to live outside their native cultural environment; parents are concerned over the possibility their children will lose identity with their heritage.

This project is designed for the enrichment of the children of the Western Eskimo and adjacent Ingalik Indian cultures. Students originate from an area along the lower Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers in Alaska. They attend St. Marys School on a Boarding basis.

The students who participated last year in the enrichment program from St. Mary's represented twelve villages. The School District's Title I program is designed to supplement, strengthen and expand the on-going curriculum. Feedback will necessarily be long-ranged, as parents and school personnel observe the impact on students as they may succeed or fail in tackling the problems of adult life. As stated above, due to long years of isolation there is little or no knowledge of the general facets of the broad American culture. This is especially true when it comes to putting education gained to practical use. In order for life vocational ideals to mature and bear fruit, there must be an opportunity for experimentation.

Civics is a particularly weak area because the basic ethnic-cultural foundation does not contain the thought processes upon which to build an understanding of American law and government. Last year the Civics class visited the State Legislature while in session. The actual witnessing of government in the making was very effective, especially after long weeks of preparation for this momentous project. State legislators were most cooperative in explaining the law-making procedure. Some of the boys expressed a desire to acquire a better understanding of American Government with the possibility of active participation in political life as representatives of their own people. One of the main objectives of the program was to encourage the development of Native political leadership.

The whole city of St. Marys, including the parents, has been involved in the training of the students in the Native arts, crafts and dances. Mr. Beans, an Eskimo, donated much time and patience to teaching the students Native dancing. He has a high reputation among his own people for his talent. He was also instrumental in getting the students to attend and participate in local city government meetings.

For the past three years grades 11 and 12 of St. Mary's have had a course in anthropology. The anthropological background of the people in the lower Kuskokwim and Yukon valleys of south western Alaska is studied. It is given as a non-credit elective course. Teachers were students from the University of Alaska under the guidance of Dr. Loyens. Use of the film library of the University of Alaska and the films deposited in rural School District No. 1 have been available to the group. The project turned into a community project when the adult education class became involved. Viewing the films was the first step for the adults. Communications with the high school students led to total involvement.

Adult education is carried on in the village by a teacher who speaks Yupik fluently. Much interest is manifested especially among the men who are trying to master sufficient knowledge to pass the Vocational Education test. The Division of Vocational Education in conjunction with the Department of Labor have trained and educated a group of Natives to fill the need of skilled laborers. Six have met all the requirements to become apprentice

carpenters. Six others have completed the course in Baking.

Health has gradually improved. This is evinced by larger families due to a lower mortality rate among babies, and by longer age span on the part of adults. It was formerly said, "There are no white-haired Eskimos." This is not true today.

Most expectant mothers go to the Native hospital in Bethel or in Anchorage to give birth to their babies. If the woman remains in the village there is a trained midwife to take care of her.

The village has a clinic under the supervision of two trained nurse aides. At St. Mary's School there is a clinic under the supervision of a trained nurse. This nurse may visit homes if requested to do so. She usually assists with the birth of a baby born in the village.

Dr. Fritz and Mr. Spahn of Anchorage have annually visited St. Marys to examine and fit the students and village people with glasses. About85% of the students of high school age wear glasses.

Public health doctors and nurses from Bethel make scheduled visits to the Yukon villages to check the physical condition of the people and to follow up on those who have been in the hospital in Bethel or elsewhere. An X-ray technician comes once a year. A Bublic Health dentist checks the teeth of all the school children and of the villagers once a year. He cleans teeth, pulls and fills teeth and makes all minor repairs. The tooth decay rate is very high. This is due to a faulty diet consisting of too much candy and other sweets.

Vaccinations and shots have helped prevent epidemics. Perhaps through the years the Eskimo has developed a tolerance to white man's diseases. Tuberculosis is on the decline. This is the result of many factors: The U.S. Public Health Service carries on an intensive program to combat the disease. Villagers who have a history of T.B. are on medication; they also are required to send in sputum samples. Other reasons for curbing the disease is the fact that most of the people in the village have warmer homes, better clothing, and a more balanced diet than formerly.

The junior and senior high school students are educated in personal hygiene and health education by means of slides, film strips, films, instructions and lectures by the local nurse and by visiting doctors and nurses.

IV. Economic Improvement

Prior to the Mission's moving from Akulurak, reindeer herds had been established in the Andreafsky area. In 1937 a major policy decision of the United States Government made reindeer herding by a white man illegal. This was a disaster for the Mission as the herds were owned by the Mission. The Eskimos were not ready to assume the responsibility of being herders, and as a result most of the reindeer in the area fell prey to wolves and bears. The rest found their way back to herds along the Bering Sea.

In order to provide an income economy for the people in the new village the Yukon Packers Salmon Cannery was founded at St. Marys. The cannery provided a market for the king salmon caught in the Yukon River, and provided employment, not only for the men but also for the women and young people. The Yukon Packer's Salmon Cannery grew from a hand-packed operation including a 100 can retort into a modern facility. Record production for the cannery has been 17,000 cases. As a result, the people learned the technology of commercial fishing and cannery operation.

In 1965, Church authorities and the people of St. Marys came to the decision to try a new approach to solving their economic problems. They arrived at the decision to hire a professional consultant. As a result, on January 6, 1966, the management firm of Paul Dixon and Associates was hired to evaluate the economic problems of St. Marys. This evaluation pointed to the fact that

in addition to economic problems, the people were also faced with a need for more vocational training and sociological improvements.

To achieve these purposes Paul Dixon recommended that the people incorporate into a second class city for legal purposes. At the same time Dixon also recommended that the city as a legal entity embark on a total concept of self-improvement. The key project was to be the establishment of a cold storage and dock facility.

The cold storage facility would preserve a year around domestic food supply for the people. In addition, the cold storage would be used as a holding facility for commercial production of frozen fish, berries and meat. To properly freeze the foods a modern quick-freeze unit has been planned for.

The dock facility has been planned to improve the poor shipping conditions at St. Marys and the Lower Yukon Region. Hopefully, containerized shipments can be employed to transport supplies. Present shipping methods which cannot handle containers result in loss, pilferage and damage. The high cost of handling on a manual basis can also be eliminated.

The City of St. Marys plans to reestablish the now extinct reindeer herds and introduce commercial hatcheries for fish. Experimentation in agriculture and the use of the land for native food products are also long-term objectives. For example, plans are under way to improve the production of the low bush blueberry which is plentiful in the area.

Together with the cold storage project, which began construction in June 1969, are plans for a multi-purpose community building. This building would house a hotel, restaurant, a small auditorium, gift shop and city office.

Fortunately, the Federal Government has passed the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 with appropriations for funding projects through economic grants and loans. St. Marys has applied for E.D.A. funding for the two projects.

Plans are also under way to adjust the City according to surveyor's design. After that is accomplished, water and sewerage will be put in. At present electricity is provided for the village from the Mission generators, but it is expected that in the near future the City of St. Marys will have their own plant as they have been designated as one of the villages to receive assistance from the Alaska Village Electric Cooperative, Inc. According to the policy of the Cooperative at least 80% of the residences and businesses of the community must want electrical facilities, they must agree to provide volunteer workers to assist in the construction of the electrical facilities, and they must provide 4 persons to take training to operate the power system.

Six families have applied for and received a favorable reply from Alaska Remote Housing Program to receive aid in the construction of new homes.

At present the main economy of the village is derived from the cannery, the large airport near by and a large commercial

freezer being built this summer and a hospital promised for the fiscal year 1970-71.

The growth and progress made at St. Marys in the past ten years has been phenomenal. The only white people in the village are those connected with the Mission. St. Marys is an all-Eskimo village. May it remain that way!

TOGIAK

TOGIAK: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC HISTORY

Helen Stewart

Lt. Sarichev reported the name of Togiak as "Selo Tugiatok" in 1826 and later Captain Tebenkoo reported the name as "Selo Tugiak." In 1880 Ivan Petroff reported two villages--Togiaqamuit with a population of 276 and Togiak Station with a population of 28. Both were located on the east side of the mouth of the river seven miles apart. Jackson wrote in 1886 that thirty-four villages on Bristol Bay were found to have a total population of 4,340.

The Togiak region includes all territory between the watershed on the peninsula which ends in Camp Newenham and that forming the backbone of Cape Constantine, viz. Aziarigiok River (which empties into the sea behind Hagemeister Island,) Togiak Bay and River, and Kulukuk Bay and River [Nushagak region includes all the watershed between Cape Constantine and Iliamna drainage, including Igushik River, Wood River, Aleknegik Lake System and Nushaqak (Tahlekuk) and Tikchik Lake System.]

The Togiaqamuit, according to Petroff, were never visited by white men until 1880. Their part of the country afforded no attraction to fur traders of the "barabaras" were only a little above the ground. The kashga in the large villages loomed above the surrounding homes.

The Togiagamuit living in the valley of the Togiak River were the most primitive of all Eskimos. The women and children fled at the first sight of white men. However, the men and older boys crowded around with much curiosity--handling everything possessed by the white visitors.

The people possessed the general features of their Eskimo neighbors, but the males rarely had any beard until they were quite old.

There was a noticeable absence of elaborate carvings--only the crudest images of fish and human heads and faces.

The Togiakamuit were very nomadic, wandering from place to place in search of fish, berries, and squirrel skins,[1] the principal material for their garments. During their travels they seldom had any shelter other than the kayak turned upon its side and supported by a paddle or two. Babies were placed inside and all others received shelter for only their heads even in pouring rain. Of course the kayak was shifted according to the wind direction.

The Togiagamuit seemed to live in a perfect state of independence of each other, there being no special spokesman for them.[2] Neither do they appear to have been bound together as communities. Each family changed their place of abode as frequently as they wished, joining whatever other community they chose.

A branch of this tribe occupied a few villages in the peninsula formed by Cape Newenham. These differed a great deal in habits and customs from their immediate neighbors. They were largely dominated by their pursuit of the reindeer herds of that area. Their principal settlement was Agivigiak. They seemed quite similar to the Kuskok-vagmute in customs. However, they speak the Togiagamuit dialect. One peculiar habit in common with the Kukok-vagmute was their seemingly complete indifference to the quality of drinking water.[3] They freely drank from brackish lagoons--or even the salty sea if they were

hunting seal or other sea animals. They have shown this indifference even where good running water, or at least better quality water, was conveniently obtained.

Each group has its local name derived from the district it habitually frequents in summer, but the individual members are constantly changing from one group to another. Sometimes the change is permanent if the new district offers greater advantages especially in the matter of game.[4] Special duties are expected of members of the settlement as caring for the sick or aged or widows or orphans. This gives the village solidarity. Villages were necessarily small due to insufficient food supply in any one area for a larger group.

Notes

[1]Each spring in Togiak it is a special event when many of the mothers and grandmothers pack up their traps and set out on foot or on snow machines to catch squirrels. Children report in school with pride how many squirrel skins their grandmothers brought home last night. The skins are almost entirely used for small children's parkas because of their softness.

[2]Togiak has had a village chief for many years now. He was also elected village council president and held that office until about five years ago when a new president was elected. Dan continued to have considerable influence in the village and this past year his brother-in-law was elected council president.

[3]The Togiak people now have very definite feelings about drinking water. They all either have good wells of their own or else travel up river past the tide waters for good drinking water. Some get their water from the school but when the salt or iron content is high they use it only for washing and go up river for better tasting water.

[4]A group of people moved from Quinhagak to Togiak because they preferred the drier tundra at Togiak in the summer time. One year Togiak had quite a flood and the Quinhagak people immediately began looking for another place. They finally settled across the river on a higher rise of ground near two small hills. This is now the settlement of Twin Hills.

TULUKSAK IN TRANSITION

R. W. Kinney

I.

Tuluksak lies in the southwest coastal lowland region. This comprises, for the most part, the vast delta area of the Yukon and Kuskokqim Rivers--an area equal in size to the state of Wyoming.

The two rivers are hemmed in by the Kelbuck mountains on the left and the Nulato Hills on the right. Just above Tuluksak, about twenty miles, is a place where the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers are only about twenty-five miles apart. The Yukon then swings north and west to continue nine hundred or more miles to the sea.

Between these two rivers is a lake-dotted marshy plain with typical tundra vegetation. Toward the sea low frost-formed hills called "Pingos" are found. These are the homes of the famed Kuskokwim mink--the largest and best to be found anywhere in the world. Above the "Portage" (narrow place between the two rivers) the ground gives way to open tundra and finally the low rolling hills that keep the two rivers apart.

Tuluksak lies upstream on the Kuskokwim River about one hundred miles above the town of Bethel. It lies at 61°06'N x 160°58'W. The Eskimo name is thought to mean "People of the Raven." It was first reported by L. A. Zagakin in 1842-44, with a population of 130. In the 1880 census by Ivan Petroff the population was reported as 150.

Tuluksak is just above the tree line as below Bethel trees and tall bushes are not found. By the time Tuluksak is reached willows, alder, birch and some cottonwoods dominate the banks. Here too are found the beginning of the Hudsonian spruce, the dominant cover along the river banks in another fifty miles upstream.

To the right of the village and upstream on the Tuluksak River the land rapidly changes to spruce cover and in less than a mile back away from the river to upland tundra dotted with lakes, but in general is devoid of animal and bird life.

Another twenty miles and the Kilbuck mountains are reached. These are low rolling hills with spruce stands only on the creek beds and protected slopes. These run 150 miles to the sea parallel to the Kuskokwim. The upland tundra stretches the entire distance also.

The climate is officially dry--some 20" of rain a year but seems much more due to heavy rains especially in August and September. The snowfall varies widely from year to year and has considerable effect upon the economy of the village. Some winters will be very cold and only a few inches or no snow on the ground. Other winters will see four feet of snow or more and ground travel except by snowshoes extremely difficult.

This section of the country has extreme temperature changes, perhaps the most extreme in North America. A -50°F is not uncommon in the winter--with 90° above in June and July, a range of some 140°. Here also is found what is called a temperature inversion· the air at ground level may be -20°F, while 300 feet up the temperature may be 40° above.

Bush pilots, when they see the mountains standing on end (mirrored in the sky), always land on the first pass. When the air is disturbed by a plane passing, an ice fog forms at once and the landing field is blocked to view.

It is very possible several times a winter to go to bed with the temperature reading -40°F and get up with it reading 40°F and everything melting.

Here also is found permafrost. It is present in most places in an irregular pattern. It seems to be absent in old stream beds. It is most

often found 2 to 3 feet below the surface. It has the annoying habit of turning to a soupy mud when disturbed. Buildings or Caches often sink on one side or fall down due to this action. Trees cannot send down deep roots and trees that grow very tall are usually blown down. Trees of over 180 years old have been found within six miles of Tuluksak; however, there seems to be an extremely slow growth period at first (about 160 years ago). This is not found elsewhere and the reason is unknown.

II.

Tuluksak is between upriver Indians and the downriver Eskimos. In all books Tuluksak is mentioned only rarely. People went past both ways but did not stop. It has neither the upriver hunting or the downriver fishing.

The history of the Kuskokwim Eskimo is a confused haze. Recorded history of the area is very brief. Before recorded history there are only traditional tales to go by.

The people around Tuluksak belong to an arbitrary group called "the Kuskogmuit"--which literally translated means "People of the river." Older people have told me that there were two kinds--"Hill people" and "River people." Tuluksak and Akiak (some 18 miles downstream) have both. It is common even today to hear families referred to as "Hill People" or "River People."

The problem of getting enough food is always the first thought. All else is of secondary importance. Moose are the most important meat source. Even during the salmon run any moose who ventures near a fish camp is not long for this world.

Several black bear are taken each year. They are shot whenever seen.

You might say that bears are killed while the hunter is after something else. I know of no case where a bear hunt has been taken for the sole purpose of getting a bear. Black bear is eaten but grizzly bear is not. The hides are used for sleeping mats. While an occasional grizzly comes down to the river it is very seldom that anyone besides "hill people" even shoot one! These hunters whose people came from the hills are the only ones who hunt there. Most "river people" seem to be afraid to go back into the hills (a possible explanation for this will be given later in connection with the reindeer.)

Ducks, geese and swans are killed whenever possible. The presence of a shotgun in all the boats attests to the fact that people are always looking for them. However, the only time wild fowl is really hunted is in the spring and early summer. Organized parties then go out often building elaborate blinds and actually taking many more wild fowl than they can eat or preserve. Lakes are sometimes "netted" in June or July when the birds cannot fly. All birds are killed and piled up to be divided. Needless to say, the spoilage rate is very high.

In the fall (August and September) blueberries, crowberries, cloudberries and lowbush cranberries are available. These are stored, often dry, but sometimes in water. A few families who have ties downriver will go out on the tundra west of Bethel to pick salmonberries. These are packed in wooden barrels and are used in Eskimo icecream.

The seeds and roots stored by mice in their nests are used in soups--but not to the extent that they used to be. One seed is about the size of a grain of wheat--yet black in color--the people call it coal. It is highly prized for use with "Duck soup." Just what plant produces it I have not been able to find out. It is very hard when uncooked--perhaps that is why they call it "coal."

During the winter fish traps are set under the ice as soon as it is thick enough. Ling cod or lush whitefish, Pike, Sheefish and sometimes eels are caught. Pike and Whitefish are taken by fishing through the ice. Ptarmigan and rabbit, taken whenever possible, provide the only fresh meat (except moose) during the winter. The rabbits suffered a disease about 1956 and seem to have never fully recovered to the numbers that were formerly present.

Just before freezeup each year (until 1967) everybody eagerly awaited the "sealoil boat." Seal meat and oil have always been available from the Nunivakers or Kipnuk people who bring their ocean going boats upstream as far as Tuluksak. At least one 'poke' of seal oil is purchased or traded for by each family. Seal meat was also eagerly sought. A week's trip on a hot boat didn't seem to hurt it much and they sold it all. In the last two years this has all changed. The price of seal hides went up. The Nunivakers sold the hides and put the oil in 5-gallon cans. Nobody would buy it as it didn't taste the same and was spoiled.(To make a poke, a sealskin is turned inside out, with the hair still on and filled with seal oil.) I wouldn't wonder that the oil from a can tasted different. The Coast people no longer come upriver to sell oil. Last winter three men chartered an airplane to go seal hunting.

Small willow root traps are placed in the sloughs and lakes to catch "Blackfish," a small fish that apparently can be frozen solid and "come alive" when thawed out. It is a great favorite and is eaten raw or cooked.

Mink, beaver, muskrats and lynx are eaten whenever available. The main item of diet is salmon, which arrive at Tuluksak all summer. Three to four days after the ice is out of the river the smelt arrive. These small fish run up the Kuskokwim past Tuluksak. Tuluksak is the last village on the Kuskokwim to harvest smelt in any numbers. They are taken by dipping with

long handled nets in selected places where the "run" comes close to a bank. (easily found by watching the gulls who follow the run). They are strung whole on willow branches and hung up to dry. They are used mostly for dog food.

After the smelt come the King Salmon. These are taken by gill nets--either set or drifting. Drifting is done in the late afternoon and night. When the light fades, the fish tend to swim closer to the top of the water. Drifting during the brighter part of the day is not productive. In 1956 one night's drifting (June 21st--I remember as we were reading a newspaper at midnight just to see if it could be done) and the next night's canning gave enough canned salmon to last two years for two families. Most people, however, do not have canners so the usual procedure is to split and dry the fish on rocks. Some are smoked. Only when the family has enough fish for winter is attention given to getting fish for the dogs. Salmon--kings, dogs, reds or silvers--are present at various times during the summer until freeze up when an ample supply of fish for man and beast is assured.

The fish wheel was first used on the Kuskokwim by the miners at Georgetown about 1914. This was a real "fish getter." Tuluksak had a large one at the mouth of the Tuluksak River. It broke loose in a storm and drifted down to Akiak. For some reason the Akiak people pulled it up on the bank and there it sat until it was finally torn to pieces about 1957. At present no fish wheels are being used below Kalskag.

III.

A cash economy was unheard of until about 1907 when gold was discovered at the headwaters of the Tuluksak River. Up until that time most of the trading apparently had been done with the Russians first and then with the traders at Bethel who came in with the missionaries. Tuluksak was the end of the line. Upriver were Russian Orthodox Eskimos who did not look kindly upon their [illegible] Morovian friends. Beaver was the going pelt and Tuluksak was so situated that beaver was hard to get to. Again we find that the "Hill People" claimed the beaver. This left the so called "River People" a very small area between the two rivers to trap. They still trap it to this day.

About 1904-07, mink became popular. Again, Tuluksak was on the edge of the tundra that had pingos. Any attempt to penetrate the tundra further south toward Bethel was stopped. (Apparently the people from Bethel were a little pugnacious. These were the ones who had killed the Russians at Russian Mission). Big catches were made further south.

But to trap or to run a trapline, one must either leave his family or take it with him. Some trapers solved the problem by having two--one wife to stay home and take care of the home and kids and another, usually much younger, to go along and cook, sew, mend, skin, dry, and the thousand other things a woman does so a man can go out on his trapline. These were called trailwives, and some people today would be properly shocked if they knew the practice still exists.

If the ice were very thick with little snow, then trapping was good, but it was difficult to set a fish trap--and then in two days to have to cut through four feet of ice to empty it. Deep snow was a fearful thing. Trapping stopped as the animals would tunnel under the snow. Travel was difficult or impossible.

Dogs would wear out in a short distance: then trappers would sit and wait for a temperature inversion to melt the top layer of snow. When it refroze again they could move. They usually went home.

To help a seemingly impossible situation the mission at Bethel requested and got 176 reindeer in 1901. With them were two Lapp herders who were supposed to teach the Eskimos how to take care of the deer. Akiak was picked as the center of the reindeer project. By 1904 there were 1,046 deer and everything was going smoothly.

In 1910 two Lapp herders and their wives (Pete Sarah and Jens Kavome) plus some 100 reindeer arrived at Akiak. Jens Kavome had the area from Akiak straight back to the mountains. Pete Sarah had all the country from there to Whitefish Lake behind and beyond Tuluksak. Once again, only the "Hill People" got to be herders. Things went very well until about 1939-40. At that time the herd numbered some 43,000. Some years before the U. S. Government had purchased all the reindeer in Alaska. No one could own a deer. Immediately the herds began to diminish. The Lapp herders were not allowed to go out with the deer. (I think there were some hurt feelings when the Lapps had the deer!) In about seven years but 600 reindeer remained. In 1956 the hides of the last four reindeer were in a shed at Akiak.

The cause of the reindeer disappearance was laid to poor herding--or none at all, plus wolves. The first I believe, the second I do not. I have spent many pleasant hours talking with the two Lapp herders, Pete Sarah and Jens Kavome and also with their helpers, Pete Alexie, Alfred Lake and Willie Wapoka of Tuluksak. They all tell me the same thing: They (the Eskimos) admit they did not herd the animals--too much work--always on the move (One important fact which may account for it was they did not have reindeer dogs.) Pete Sarah lost his in a tangle with a bear.

All five men say that increased value of fur was responsible. (I do not know what the price of fox fur was at that time in Tuluksak, but I do know that at the same time a blue fox fur from the Aleutian Islands was worth $150.00.)

In any event to trap fox you needed bait. Forty to sixty sets were not uncommon. The bait was reindeer! Pete Sarah, who I believe loved his deer as a cattleman loves his cattle, would say, "Wolves!--Yah!--two legged wolves!"--and other descriptive words which I will leave out.

Since all the reindeer herders were Eskimo after the sale, and all the herders were trapping fox, plus all the other trappers along the Kuskokwim, it did not take long. It has often been pointed out that caribou and wolves get along very well together. In fact, above Whitefish Lake and above the Aniak, caribou are still found --wolves too! Just why the caribou have not crossed the Aniak River and spilled over into the rich grazing tundra behind Tuluksak is something the Fish and Wildlife Service would like to know, too! The two animals look alike, act alike--in fact, I have often said the only difference between a caribou and a reindeer is the $500 fine.

Someday I believe reindeer herds will again roam the tundra behind Tuluksak. With the airplane and snow machines it would not be the job it was formerly. I believe the Eskimos of Tuluksak could and would herd their deer,--but only if they were their deer!

IV.

Pete Sarah, the Lapp reindeer herder, was coming from the foothills of the Kilbucks herding for Tuluksak. His little reindeer dogs were also carrying miniature packs for it was summer. The dogs were packed in this manner but never harnessed to a sled. Suddenly a large bear rose up out of the bushes and came for him. His dogs attacked the bear. This gave Pete enough time to unsling his rifle, a Remington automatic 30 cal. He emptied the clip. The bear again ran at him. The three dogs who were left again attacked the bear. Pete told me he was running uphill and that spit from the bear's mouth was on the back of his neck. He was able to reload and finally kill the bear. All his dogs were dead. Pete stayed there that night and buried his dogs. putting a little cross over each one. (In later years Pete would go through the ritual again of burying his dogs and building a fire, when he caught his own house afire. The house burned along with his faithful wife Christene.)

In 1957, in August, the entire village of Tuluksak left to go berry picking up the Tuluksak River. In about eight hours everybody came back! When asked why, all we could get was "Ghost Bear!" They would say no more.

Phillip Pentacost, teacher then at Tuluksak, told me that Willie Napoka's father had killed a polar bear just below town and that for many years its hide was used for the door on the Kaskim. When the Kaskim burned down so did the hide--but everyone said it was white!

We both tried to find out more, but nobody would say anything. One day I suddenly asked Pete, "What color was that bear?" He said "White!" He then told me he never told anyone because they would laugh at him and think he was crazy.

After it became known that I knew about the Ghost Bears, information was easier to come by. In fact, I was presented with the hide of one! Stories bame thick and fast. The bears are white! Some have black socks! They eat people! Whether they do or not, I don't know, but nobody from the Kalskags will go up to the hot springs to bathe or for any other reason. Some people from there did and they did not come back. In fact, only the "Hill People" will go any distance toward the Kilbucks.

No Native airplane pilot will land in this area unless he has to. Other people have seen them --the bears are still there. A Fish and Wildlife plane once counted five, the most ever seen at one time.

If reindeer are ever again sent in to Tuluksak, the fact that some people will go into the mountains and some will not must be taken into consideration or any chance of success with herding reindeer in that area will be doomed by the "Ghost Bear."

V.

Bluntly put, the region has no apparent base for economic growth. It has a rapidly growing population without local employment prospects and generally without the cultural education and skills prerequisite for successful out-migration. In the forseeable future, outside of conversion of the present subsistence fishery to a more efficient operation, any growth of opportunity either for employment or for enterprise, will result directly from governmental action.

Despite the quickened activity of two world wars and the advent of the airplane, the outboard motor, and radio communication, the general pattern of human existence among the natives (and the white people) has remained the same until recently.

This area is accessible chiefly by water and air transport. Heavy, non-perishable goods are brought up the Kuskokwim by barge from Bethel. Passengers and light goods are flown in. There are no roads in the area. Dog sleds are used for winter travel. Cars and trucks have been used on the frozen surface of the Kuskokwim, but no car has been to Tuluksak for several years due to a place in the river just below Tuluksak that does not freeze unless it gets down to -40°F or more.

Life at Tuluksak is very similar to that described by Oswalt in Napaskiak, so similar that there is no need to recount it here. About 1966-67 the Sno-go changed village ways of life.

Everyone in Tuluksak had a dog team, some two or three teams. If you had a dog team you fished all summer so you could ride a dog sled all winter. In 1968, only five families did not have a sno-go. In 1967, only two families had sno-gos! I fully expect that everyone will have one in 1969-70. Some people have as many as three. When you consider that Tuluksak, the end of the line, now has sno-gos for everybody, what about the surrounding area? About 1966 or 1967 at the Bethel dog races 105 dog teams were entered! Last year only 25 teams were entered. This is where the representative teams are picked for the Fur Rendezvous races in Anchorage. The teams were racing teams, not working teams as they used to be.

Last spring there were only three dog teams left in Tuluksak. I think I would be safe to say that at least one of these is gone by now.---No dogs to feed every day winter or summer!--no dogs--no fish. The people will fish for King salmon for their own use and when they have enough they will quit. This should take no more than two weeks!

The rest of the summer they can go fish commercially, fight fires, go to Bethel, take the rest of the summer off. This extra money brought in because they are free to work, and this travel because they are free to move about cannot help but change their way of life. I believe the way they live will change more in the next five years than it has in the last one hundred and five.

During the winter there will be no dogs to feed or cook for, a one or two hour job each day. Wood and water can be hailed in a fraction of the time and with less effort. (As anyone who has ever pushed a loaded sled will tell you.)

Time, time to do what you want to do, if nothing more than to think without feeling guilty because you should be doing something else--time to think and time to do. Only those peoples who have had time to think have progressed. So--sit back and watch--Henry Ford has come to the North in the form of a Sno-go!.

INFORMANTS

Alexie, Peter. Trapper and one-time reindeer herder, Tuluksak

DeMantle, Joe. Trapper and fisherman. Now B.I.A. maintenance man. Came from"Across the River," One of the few men who grew up between the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers, Tuluksak.

Jackson, Noah. Trapper, fisherman. Now U. S. Postmaster, Akiak. His family came from the Upper Kesuallick River where an old-time village was supposed to be. He owned reindeer.

Jackson, Helen. Noah's daughter, presently attending A.M.U., Anchorage.

Kavome, Jens. Lapp reindeer herder and owner (deceased), Akiak.

LaRue, Arthur. Reindeer owner, deceased, Akiak.

Lake, Alfred. Trapper, fisherman, B.I.A. - maintenance man, reindeer herder, Akiak.

Lott, James. Fisherman. His family comes from village on Bogus Creek, Tuluksak.

Napoka, Ida. Housewife, U. S. Postmaster. B.I.A., School cook, trapper and hunter, truly a remarkable woman, Tuluksak.

Napoka, Willie. Ida's husband, considered the best hunter in the area. Tuluksak.

Napoka, Pete. Trapper, fisherman, B.I.A. - janitor. Tuluksak

Sarah, Pete. Lapp reindeer herder. Came with his wife Christene to Akiak in 1910 (deceased).

Trodahl, The Rev. Harry. Superintendent of the Morovian Missions, Bethel. Was in the field for nearly twenty years before 1955.